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AN HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL
A C C O U N T
OF THE
L I F E
OF
CHARLES the SECOND,
KING OF GREAT BRITAIN.

After the Manner of Mr. BAYLE.

Drawn from ORIGINAL WRITERS and STATE PAPERS.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,
An APPENDIX of ORIGINAL PAPERS,
Now First Published.

By WILLIAM HARRIS, D.D. K

IN TWO VOLUMES,

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Ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat.

CICERO.

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E R R A T A.

- P. 5, l. 10, in the note, for *magnificence*; read, *magnanimity*;
P. 24, l. 3, in the text, after *of* read, *his*
P. 111, l. 16. in the note, *afterwards* read, *engage*
P. 112, l. 6, in the note, for *flattery* read, *flatterers*
P. 124, l. 20, in the note, after *to* read, *use*
P. 254, l. 14, for *codfessed* read, *confessed*

T H E

C O N T E N T S

Chapter I. The History of the
Chapter II. The History of the
Chapter III. The History of the
Chapter IV. The History of the
Chapter V. The History of the

P R E F A C E

The author of this work has been
informed by several persons that
they had seen a copy of the
manuscript of this work in the
library of the British Museum.

A D D I T I O N A L



T H E
L I F E
O F
CHARLES the SECOND.



CHARLES Stuart, the second of that name, King of *Great Britain*, son of *Charles the First*, and *Henrietta Maria of France*, was born on the twenty-ninth of *May*, one thousand six hundred and thirty. Some particulars attending his birth, and baptism, will be found below (A).

We

(A) *Some particulars relating to his birth, and baptism.*] The Queen had a son, named *Charles*, the
B preceding

THE LIFE OF

We know little more of his education,
than

‘ preceding year, who died very soon after his birth.
‘ This year, says *Perincheif*, Heaven was liberal to
‘ his Majesty, in giving him a son to inherit his do-
‘ minions; which was so great a matter of rejoicing
‘ to the people of uncorrupted minds, that Heaven
‘ seemed also concerned in the exultation, kindling ano-
‘ ther fire more than ordinary, making a star to be seen
‘ the same day at noon (from which most men presaged,
‘ that that Prince should be of high undertakings, and
‘ of no common glory among Kings: which hath
‘ been since confirmed by the miraculous preservation
‘ of him; and Heaven seemed to conduct him to the
‘ throne). For this great blessing the King gave public
‘ thanks to the author of it, Almighty God, at St. Paul’s
‘ church; and God was pleased, in return to those
‘ thanks, with a numerous issue afterwards to increase
‘ this happiness (a).’ It is possible, however, his nu-
‘ merous issue might not be a matter of very high con-
‘ solation to his Majesty in his solitude and sufferings!
——The appearance of the star above-mentioned was
expressed beaming from the center of a small birth-piece
struck on this occasion, and still to be seen in the cabi-
nets of the curious. This star is taken notice of by
Waller, and made matter of compliment to the Prince
whose birth it attended :

(a) Life of
K. Charles,
prefixed to
his works, p.
8. fol. Lond.
1687.

His thoughts rise higher, when he does reflect
On what the world may from that Star expect,
Which at his birth appeared ; to let us see,
Day, for his sake, could with the night agree :
A Prince on whom such different lights did smile,
Born the divided world to reconcile !

If

than that, according to the then and present

If we may credit Lord *Baltimore*, the birth of young *Charles* was received with all expressions of joy in *Spain*. In a letter to Lord *Wentworth*, dated, *Castle-yard, Aug. 12, 1630*, he thus expresses himself:

‘ My Lord Ambassador — will tell you perhaps with
 ‘ what joy the news of our Prince’s birth was received
 ‘ in the court of *Spain*; the King, Queen, and all the
 ‘ court in bravery; not so much as the young Infant of
 ‘ so many months old but had his feather on his cap,
 ‘ all the town full of masks and music: and not only
 ‘ the temporal state but the spiritual express their glad-
 ‘ nefs. The heads of the clergy, and all the reli-
 ‘ gious houses in the city, came to the Ambassador, in
 ‘ the name of their bodies, to congratulate with him the
 ‘ birth of the Prince; and solemn masses and prayers
 ‘ were said for his health and prosperity every where (b).’

This must have been a fine farce! — Let us now proceed to relate some circumstances attending the baptism of Prince *Charles*: they are related by Mr. *Samuel Meddus*, in a letter to Mr. *Joseph Mede*, dated *July 2, 1630*. — ‘ Prince *Charles* was baptised last
 ‘ Lord’s day, about four in the afternoon, at St.
 ‘ *James’s*, in the King’s little chapple there (not in the
 ‘ Queen’s), by my Lord of *London* [*Laud*], Deane of
 ‘ the chapple, assisted by the Bishop of *Norwich*, Al-
 ‘ moner. The Gossips were, the *French King*, the
 ‘ *Palsgrave*, and the Queen Mother of *France*. The
 ‘ Deputies, the Duke of *Lenox*, Marquis *Hamilton*,
 ‘ and the Duchesse of *Richmond*; which last was ex-
 ‘ ceeding bountifull. The ordinance and chambers of
 ‘ the *Tower* [were discharged], the bells did ring, and

(b) *Straf-
 ford’s State
 Papers. vol.
 i. p. 53. fol.
 Lond. 1739.*

sent custom (B), he had an ecclesiastic
for

‘ at night were in the streets plenty of flaming bonfires.
‘ The Duchesse was sent for by two Lords, dyvers
‘ Knights and Gentlemen, six footmen, and coach with
‘ six horses plumed (all the Queens), and alighted not
‘ without the gate but within the court. Her retinue
‘ were six women, and gentlemen I know not how
‘ many. But all, of both sexes, were clad in white
‘ sattine garnished with crimson, and crimson filke stock-
‘ ings. I hear not of any presents from the Gossips;
‘ but the Duchesse, for her own particular, presented
‘ to the Queen for the Prince a jewel estimated at 7
‘ or 8000*l.* to the melch nurse a chain of rubies, esti-
‘ mated at 200*l.* to the midwife and dry nurse, store
‘ of massy plate; to the six rockers, each, a fair cup,
‘ a salt, and a dozen of spoons. All the Lords also
‘ gave plate to the nurse. Besides, the Duchesse gave
‘ to every Knight and Gentleman of the Queens who
‘ came for her, and brought her back to her house in
‘ the *Strand*, 50 pieces; to the coachman, 20; and to
‘ every of the 6 foot men, 10 pieces. There were nei-
‘ ther Lords or Knights made that I hear of, as there
‘ was said would be (c).’—These are trifling things, it
must be confessed;—but as they mark strongly the cha-
racter of the age, and the court, they will not be, I am
persuaded, unacceptable to some of the most intelligent
readers.

(c) Peck's
Desiderata
Curiosa, vol.
II. b. xii. p.
36. fol. Lon.
1735.

(B) *He had an ecclesiastic for his tutor.*] The edu-
cation of Princes is of so great importance to the state,
that too great care cannot be taken of it. As the su-
perintendency of the public, and the execution of its
laws, is submitted to Sovereigns; it behoves those to
whose

for his tutor, *Brian Duppa*; who, though of a sweet temper, was, if we may believe *Burnet*, no way fit for his post (*d*).

Being

(*d*) *Burnet's Hist.*
of his own
Times, vol.
i. p. 177.

whose tuition they are intrusted, to inculcate deeply on their minds their high duty of taking the utmost pains for the welfare of the communities over which they preside; the glory and happiness of acting an honest and a worthy part; and the perpetual infamy which will attend them, if, following their passions, or, which is sometimes much worse, their parasites, they act a mean, a base, a little one. To reverence themselves, and the public; to have high notions of honour and justice, generosity and magnificence; to consider themselves as the servants of the community over which they preside; and bound by its laws, and their own interest as inseparable from that of the people; ought to be the daily lesson of young Princes. ‘The King,’ it should be told them, ‘is superior to the people; but the laws are superior to him. The laws commit the care of the people to him as the most valuable of all trusts, with this condition, that he shall be the father of his subjects. The intention of these laws is precisely this, that one man, by his wisdom and moderation, shall be the instrument of felicity to whole nations; and not that whole nations shall, by their misery and abject slavery, serve to pamper the pride and luxury of one man. The King’s revenue ought not to be more than is necessary, either for his support in his painful office, or to infuse into the people that respect which is due to him, who is to enforce the execution of the laws. Besides this, the King ought to be more sober, more an ene-

Being a little more advanced in years,
he had successively the Earls of *Newcas-*
tle, *Hertford*, and *Berkshire* for his go-
vernors,

‘ my to idleness, more free from pride and ostentation,
‘ than any other man. He is not to exceed others in
‘ wealth and pleasure ; but in wisdom, virtue, and glo-
‘ ry. Abroad, he is to defend his country at the head
‘ of its armies ; and at home, he is to dispense justice
‘ to his people, to make them good, wise, and happy.
‘ ’Tis not for his own sake that the gods have appointed
‘ him King, but for his peoples. ’Tis to them he owes
‘ all his time, all his cares, all his watchings, all his
‘ affection ; and he is no otherwise worthy of his king-
‘ dom, but in proportion as he forgets his own personal
‘ interests to sacrifice himself to the public good (e).’

(e) Tele-
machus, b.
v.

These are the sentiments of the excellent *Fenelon*, one
of the most worthy of ecclesiastics, and the tutor of a
Son of France. Whether he was capable of talking
to his pupil in a strain thus free and noble, is perhaps
a question ; though doubtless he was as much so as any
of his order. For the well-known rise to preferment
among this sort of men is by complaisance, flattery,
servility, court-services, and intrigues, which put them
on their guard, make them cautious of offending, and
prone to advance what is pleasing to those who may be
able still to befriend them. For these reasons a noble
writer of our own observes, ‘ that, had those coun-
‘ tries, which in modern times have lost their liber-
‘ ty, whilst they were free, committed the government
‘ of their youth to philosophers instead of priests, they
‘ had in all probability preserved themselves from the
‘ yoke of bondage to this day ; whereas now, they not
‘ only

vernors, who, through the hurry of the times, or their want of application, afforded him but few helps towards his improve-

‘ only endure it, but approve of it likewise.—*Tantum
 ‘ religio potuit.* The *Greeks* and *Romans* instituted their
 ‘ academies to quite another purpose; the whole educa-
 ‘ tion of their youth tended to make them as useful
 ‘ to the society they lived in as possible. There they
 ‘ were trained up to exercise and labour, to accustom
 ‘ them to an active life: no vice was more infamous than
 ‘ sloth, nor any man more contemptible than him that
 ‘ was too lazy to do all the good he could; the lec-
 ‘ tures of their philosophers served to quicken them
 ‘ up to this. They recommended, above all things, the
 ‘ duty to their country, the preservation of the laws,
 ‘ and the public liberty; subservient to which they
 ‘ preached up moral virtues, such as fortitude, temper-
 ‘ ance, justice, a contempt of death, &c. Some-
 ‘ times they made use of pious cheats, as *Elisian Fields*,
 ‘ and an assurance of future happiness, if they died in
 ‘ the cause of their country; and even deceived their
 ‘ hearers into greatness. Hence proceed all those noble
 ‘ characters wherewith their histories are so stocked:
 ‘ hence it was that their philosophers were deservedly
 ‘ looked upon as supports of the state they had their
 ‘ dependence upon; and as they could have no interest
 ‘ distinct from it, they laid out themselves towards the
 ‘ advancing and promoting the good of it, insomuch
 ‘ that we find the very fortune of their commonwealths
 ‘ lasted no longer than they did. The managers of our
 ‘ modern education have not been quite so public-
 ‘ spirited; for it has been, as I have shewn, for the
 B 4 ‘ most

improvement. Every one knows Mr. *Hobbes* instructed him in the mathematics, and was much regarded by him after his restoration.

Hampden,

‘ most part, in the hands of men who have a distinct
 ‘ interest from the public: therefore ’tis not to be won-
 ‘ dered at, if, like the rest of the world, they have been
 ‘ biaſſed by it, and directed their principal design towards
 ‘ advancing their own fortunes.—’Twas not to learn
 ‘ foreign languages, that the *Grecian* and *Roman* youth
 ‘ went for so long together to the academies and lec-
 ‘ tures of their philosophers;—’twas to learn how and
 ‘ when to speak pertinently, how to act like a man, to
 ‘ subdue the passions, to be public-spirited, to despise
 ‘ death, torments and reproach, riches, and the smiles
 ‘ of Princes as well as their frowns, if they stood be-
 ‘ tween them and their duty. This manner of edu-
 ‘ cation produced men of another stamp than appears
 ‘ now upon the theatre of the world; such as we are
 ‘ scarce worthy to mention, and must never hope to imi-
 ‘ tate till the like manner of institution grows gain in-
 ‘ to reputation, which in enslaved countries ’tis never
 ‘ likely to do as long as the ecclesiastics, who have an
 ‘ opposite interest, keep not only the education of youth
 ‘ but the consciences of old men in their hands (f).’

(f) Moleſ-
 worth’s
 works, pref.
 to his ac-
 count of
 Denmark.

I mean not, by any thing here said, to undervalue the industry, the learning, or abilities of the clergy. Many of them are highly eminent. But the education of gentlemen, gentlemen intended for legislators, and governors of a people distinguished by their love of liberty, ought to be committed to the care of such to whom liberty is dear, who have been used to manly free-
 dom,

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9

Hampden, who makes so noble a figure in this part of our history, it is said, was once pro-

dom, and who are capable of relishing and making others relish its invaluable blessings. Not but even ecclesiastics are infinitely to be preferred to those who instil nothing valuable into the mind, — but form the petit maitres, the debauchees, the village-tyrants, or the undertrappers of power in the higher stations of life. — I have said, after *Burnet*, that *Duppa* was no way fit for his post. *Wood* however assures us, ‘ he was ‘ a man of excellent parts, and every way qualified for ‘ his function; especially as to the comeliness of his person, and gracefulness of his deportment, which rendered him worthy the service of a court, and every ‘ way fit to stand before Princes: and that when he ‘ was translated from *Salisbury* to *Winchester*, at the Restoration, it was to the great joy and comfort of ‘ many Lords and Gentlemen, as well as the reverend ‘ Clergy, who all had a deep sense and memory of his ‘ prudence and piety, owing him a lasting tribute, not ‘ only for his great example of virtue and godliness, but ‘ for those excellent seeds and principles so happily laid ‘ in the youth of the then sovereign Lord the King. ‘ He was beloved of King *Charles I.* of happy memory, who made use of his pious conversation during ‘ his imprisonment in the isle of *Wight*; and so much ‘ respected by King *Charles II.* that when this worthy ‘ Prelate lay on his death-bed at *Richmond*, he craved ‘ his blessing on his bended knees by his bed-side (g).’ I suppose, being an apt scholar, his Majesty might have learned, from his Lordship, the mighty value of his boon. Such as know Dr. *Duppa* owed some of his preferment

(g) Wood’s
Athenæ
Oxonienſes,
vol. ii. c.
273. Lond.
1721, fol.

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proposed (c) for Tutor, or rather, as I think, Governor to the Prince; but, fortunately for his own character, fortunately

to *George Villiers*, will not think themselves at a loss about his real character.

(c) *Hampden was once proposed as Tutor or Governor to the Prince.*] Mr. *Whitlock*, speaking concerning the preliminaries to Lord *Strafford's* trial, says, 'There was a proposal (the subject of much discourse) to prevent all this trouble, and to restore the Earl of *Strafforde* to his former favour and honour; if the King would prefer some of the grandees to offices at court, whereby *Straffordes* enemies should become his friends, and the Kings desires be promoted. It was that should be made Lord Treasurer, the Lord *Say* Master of the Wards, Mr. *Pym* Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. *Hollis* Secretary of State, Mr. *Hampden* Tutor to the Prince, others to have other places. In order whereunto, the Bishop of *London* [*Juxon*] resigned up his Treasurers Staff, the Lord *Cottingham* his place of Master of the Wards, and the rest were easily to be voided. But whether upon the Kings alteration of his mind, or by what other means it came to pass, is uncertain: these things were not effected; and the great men baffled thereby, became the more incensed, and violent against the Earl, joining with the *Scots* Commissioners who were implacable against him (b).' Had *Hampden*, and his glorious fellow patriots, accepted the high posts which they were designed by this project to have filled, it is not improbable but their characters would have sunk as low in the eyes of posterity, as the false

(b) *Whitlock's Memorials*, p. 41. fol. Lond. 1732.

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nately for the nation, it took not place: though he was undoubtedly capable of filling

false patriots in more modern times; who, under the guise of good men with upright intentions and disinterested views, forced themselves into power, and, when possessed of it, used it to as bad purposes as their predecessors. 'Of all modern virtues, patriotism has stood the test the worst. The great *Strafforde*, with the eloquence of *Tully* and the heroism of *Epanimondas*, had none of the steadiness of the latter. *Hampden*, less stained, cannot but be suspected of covering ambitious thoughts with the mantle of popular virtue.—In the partition of employments on a treaty with the King, his contenting himself with asking the post of Governor to the Prince, seems to me to have had at least as deep a tincture of self-interestness as my Lord *Strafforde* had, who strode at once from demagogue to Prime Minister (i). It seems therefore to have happened very fortunately, as I have said, for *Hampden's* character, that he escaped the temptation, and therefore carried down an unsullied name to posterity. He might, however, in the trial have come off conqueror.

(i) Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, vol. ii, p. 18. 8vo, Lond. 1759.

The coalition of these patriots and courtiers would have had also infinite bad effects on the public. The instruments of tyranny would have escaped unpunished, perhaps uncensured; and, emboldened by impunity, have increased the burdens then too heavy to bear. But above all, the great and noble struggle for liberty made by *Hampden*, and his fellows, in arms, against tyranny and the tyrant, would never have had an existence;—the noble example would have been lost;—and the means of recalling liberty remained unknown.—

What

filling the post with honor and advantage to his pupil.

After

What *Hampden's* character was in the eyes of his enemies, we must learn from *Clarendon*, who says, 'when this Parliament begun (being returned Knight of the Shire for the county where he lived) the eyes of all men were fixed upon him as their *patriæ pater*, and the pilot that must steer the vessel, through the tempests and rocks which threatned it. And I am perswaded, his power and interest, at that time, was greater to do good or hurt, than any man in the kingdom, or than any man of his rank hath had in any time: for his reputation of honesty was universal, and his affections seemed so publicly guided, that no corrupt or private ends could byass them.—He was very temperate in diet, and a supream governour over all his passions and affections, and had thereby a great power over other mens. He was of an industry and vigilance not to be tired out, or wearied by the most laborious; and of parts not to be imposed upon, by the most subtle, or sharp; and of a personal courage equal to his best parts; so that he was an enemy not to be wished wherever he might have been made a friend; and as much to be apprehended where he was so, as any man could deserve to be.' What a character this! —must not every one stand amaz'd that his Lordship should conclude (for his Lordship it is, and not his editors, as has been groundlessly promulgated), 'What has been said of *Cinna*, might be well applied to him; he had a head to contrive, and a tongue to perswade, and a hand to execute any mischief (*k*). Few readers will submit to this decree from the *Chancellor of human nature*; if indeed a man who paid no regard to truth

(*k*) Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 266. vol. iii. 8vo. Oxon. 1712.

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After the treaty of *Uxbridge*, the Prince was sent into the west[D]; constituted General

truth in his writings, can have the least pretence to so honourable a character.

(D) *The Prince was sent into the west.*] ‘The King, says *Clarendon*, spoke to those he trusted most at that time, with much more melancholy of his own condition, and the state of his affairs, than he had used to do.—So that his Majesty told them, “He found it absolutely necessary to pursue his former resolution of separating the Prince his son from himself, that the enemy might not, upon any success, find them together; which, he said, would be ruin to them both; whereas, though he should fall into their hands whilst his son was at liberty, they would not dare to do him harm.” He seemed to have very reasonable apprehensions, that upon the loss of a battle, he might become a prisoner; but he never imagined, that it would enter into their thoughts to take away his life; not that he believed they could be restrained from that impious act by any remorse of conscience, or that they had not wickedness enough to design and execute it: but he believed it against their interest; and would often, in discourse, say, of what moment the preservation of his life was to the rebels; and how much they were concerned to preserve it, in regard, that if he himself were dead, the Parliament stood dissolved; so that there would be an end of their government; which though it were true in law, would have little shaken their power, of which they were too long possessed to part with it easily. This was a speculation of that nature, that nobody had reason to endeavour to
‘ change

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General of an association for petitioning
or compelling the Parliament to a peace;
and General of all the forces of *Eng-
land.*

‘ change the King’s opinion in that particular ; and his
‘ Majesty thought of nothing so much as hastning the
‘ Prince’s journey ; and to that purpose, commanded
‘ those who were appointed to attend him to be ready
‘ by a short day, resolving that his Highness should make
‘ his journey directly to *Bristol*, and continue his resi-
‘ dence there till some emergent alteration should make
‘ his remove from thence necessary. — There happened
‘ an accident at this time, that reconciled the mind of
‘ many to this journey of the Prince into the West, and
‘ looked like a good omen that it would produce good
‘ effects ; though it proved afterwards an occasion of
‘ much trouble and inconvenience. When the King
‘ returned through *Somersetshire*, after the defeat of the
‘ Earl of *Essex* in *Cornwall*, there had been a petition
‘ delivered to him, in the names of the gentry, clergy,
‘ freeholders, and others his Majesty’s protestant sub-
‘ jects of the county of *Somerset*, in which they desired,
‘ that his Majesty would give them leave to petition
‘ the Parliament, that there might be a treaty for peace ;
‘ and that they might have liberty to wait upon his Ma-
‘ jesty in person in his march ; and that when they came
‘ to a nearer distance, they might then go before, and
‘ deliver their petition ; and if they should not obtain
‘ their so just request, they would then assist his Ma-
‘ jesty to get that by the sword, which could be ob-
‘ tained no other way : to that purpose they desired
‘ leave to put themselves in arms, to attend his Ma-
‘ jesty

land. On account of his youth a council was assigned him by his Majesty. But nothing of consequence was done by council

‘ jesty in his journey.—The King gave them a gracious reception, and liberty to do all that they desired; believing it possible, that he might even ‘ from thence recruit his foot; which he most desired. ‘ But his Majesty’s speedy march left that design to ‘ be better weighed and digested. Upon the fame of ‘ the Prince’s being to visit the West, and ‘to keep his ‘ court there, some gentlemen, of the best quality in ‘ the West, came to *Oxford*, as entrusted by the rest to ‘ acquaint his Majesty, that they had now formed the ‘ design, they had formerly presented to him, much better than it was; and that the four Western counties, ‘ *Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall*, had resolved ‘ to enter into an association, and to be joint petitioners to the Parliament for peace;—and whosoever refused to join in the petition, should be looked upon ‘ as enemies to peace, and their country, and accordingly treated; so that this address could not but have ‘ great influence upon the Parliament, being under the ‘ style of one and all; and could not but be look’d upon ‘ as such. They desired the King, that the Prince ‘ might be made General of this association; in order ‘ to which, they would provide for his support according to his dignity; and, in the first place, take care ‘ for the raising a good guard of horse and foot, for the ‘ safety of his person. — Upon these reasons, the Prince ‘ had two commissions granted to him; one to be General of the association; and another, to be General of all ‘ the

council or army. The Parliament forces, under Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, were everywhere victorious, through their own bravery and conduct, as well as the rapine, cowardice, and dissensions of their (E) adver-

(l) Vol. iv. 'the King's forces in *England* (l).' — This was only a matter of form: the youth and inexperience of the Prince rendered it impossible for him to execute either of these commissions.
p. 601—
604.

The same writer, in another work, tells us, that on the day the Prince began his journey towards the West, his Majesty sent for him, the historian, 'and repeated some things he had mentioned before. He told him 'there had been many things which had troubled him, 'with reference to his son's absence from him; for all 'which but one he had satisfied himself: the one was, 'the inconvenience which might arise from the weakness and folly of his governor [*Berkshire*]; 'against which he had provided as well as he could, 'by obliging the Prince to follow the advice of his 'council in all things; which he was assured he would 'do; and he had given them as much authority as 'they could wish (m).' The chief of this council were the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Lord *Colepepper*. It was on the 4th of *March*, 1764, O. S. that the Prince parted from his father, and began his journey for *Bristol*, from whence he removed to *Barnstable*, and afterwards into *Cornwall*. This was the last interview between them.

(m) Life
of Lord Clarendon; vol.
i. p. 105.
8vo. Oxon.
1759.

(E) *The Parliament forces were everywhere victorious, through their own valour, as well as the rapine, &c. of their*

adversaries: ---- His Majesty having ordered the Prince, in case of necessity, to go into

their adversaries.] If Lord *Clarendon's* account is any way to be relied on, there never was a more abandoned set of men than those who composed the several little armies the King had in the West. The *Gorings* and the *Greenvilles* are painted in as bad colors as the pretended rebels themselves; nor can any thing, almost, be added to their detestable forms. Of the first his Lordship says, 'he valued not his promises, professions, or friendships, according to any rules of honor, or integrity (*n*):' and the latter is described by him as a monster of cruelty, villany, and impudence (*o*). Under such leaders, it is not to be wondered, that the soldiery was mutinous, disobedient, rapacious, and cowardly. — *Goring's* crew is still proverbial in the West. *Fairfax*, after having driven all before him, came up with and easily defeated the remains of these bodies at *Torrington*, then under the command of Lord *Hopton*, which totally dissolved the Western army. For, by treaty, the officers and soldiers laid down their arms, and were to have passes to their several houses, or beyond the seas if they desired it, engaging never to bear arms against the Parliament. This was in *March*, 1645, O. S. In the above account I have followed Lord *Clarendon*, who imputes the loss of the West to the ill behaviour of the generals (Lord *Hopton* excepted) and the soldiery. But Lord *Landsdown* insists on it, that it was not generals or soldiers who were to blame, but the council in general, and more particularly the Chancellor of the Exchequer. 'The King,' says he, 'had been fatally advised to a method that was pretended for the better

'*n*' Vol. iv.
P. 555.

(*o*) See vol.
iv. P. 534,
539.

into *France*, and there to be under his mother's care, who was to have the absolute and

government of his armies, which was, to appoint a civil council to inspect and regulate the conduct of his generals, and controll the military operations. This measure had given great disturbance to the brethren of the blade, old officers, and men of experience, who thought very reasonably that they were not to be told their trade by persons who knew nothing of it. Thus those who advised, and those who were to execute, lived in eternal contradiction and variance. The counsellors, says the chancellor, being men of better understandings and better expressions than the officers, commonly disposed his Majesty to their opinions from concurring with what was proposed by the officers. The best speech, it seems, carried it, as if the man who had the greatest command of words was best intitled to the command of troops. This raised an implacable animosity in the whole army against the council: and who can wonder at it? The Lord *Wilmot*, though the best beloved and most popular officer in the army, and whom the chancellor confesses, notwithstanding the great liberties he takes with his character in all other respects, to have had more credit and authority in the troops than any other man, was yet put under an arrest at his post of command, upon a day of battle, and shamefully sent away a prisoner to *Exeter*, a sacrifice to the secretary and master of the Rolls, who at that time were the great over-rulers in all debates by the volubility of their tongues, in which they excelled. The Lord *Piercy* had the same fate at the same

and full power of his education, in all things except religion; those to whom he was intrusted,

‘ same time, for no other reason that appears against either of those noble persons, but that they were beloved by the army, and hated by the council.— This unnatural mixture of councils civil and military, when it came to be particularly applied to every part of the service, could not but create more and more distraction: and hence arose that unhappy division in mens minds which set honour and loyalty at variance. — This infection was not yet spread into the West, where alone every thing continued quiet and hopeful, when the Prince, too young and unexperienced to judge for himself, was sent down attended with one of these councils, of which the chancellor was president and supreme director. Sir *Richard Granville* was then at the head of the troops. It is to be observed, that this very council itself was divided into parties: the Earl of *Berkshire*, to whose care the Princes person and education was entrusted, was kept out of all secrets, and so were several others, tho’ members of the same council. The chancellor and his immediate creatures governed the whole. It would be strange to imagine that the King, than whom there could not be a nicer judge, should commit so high and so important a trust as the care of his son, heir to his crown, to any person unqualified for it, at so critical a juncture: it was enough that his Majesty had made the choice, to be convinced of that noble lords merit; but it was his misfortune to be out of the chancellors favour, as were almost all who had the honour to be

C 2

‘ appointed

trusted, on the near approach of the enemy,
prepared to give obedience thereunto. Ac-
cordingly

‘ appointed near his Highness’s person. These divisions
‘ and sub-divisions in the family and council, could pro-
‘ mise nothing but confusion in every part of the admi-
‘ nistration, civil or military. The general soon found
‘ the effects of it. They began with an offer to retrench
‘ his allowance for the pay of his troops, upon pretence
‘ of œconomy, that out of those contributions there might
‘ be spared wherewithall to answer other services : to
‘ this he made a peremptory reply, that he neither could
‘ nor would command an army unpaid : his answer was
‘ resented, but they durst not proceed to any alteration ;
‘ the whole army was as much concerned as the gene-
‘ ral. He proposed no scheme of any kind for carrying
‘ on the service but what was contradicted or rejected
‘ in the most contemptuous manner : this man who had
‘ been bred under Prince *Maurice*, the greatest captain
‘ of the age ; this man whose experience and activity
‘ was thought most necessary where action was to be ;
‘ this man so beloved by the veteran regiments (the best
‘ judges of their officers) that they cared to follow no-
‘ body else, as the historian had told us before : this
‘ brave, this active, this experienced officer, could now,
‘ all on the sudden, offer nothing but wild notions and
‘ stark madness. — These disorders daily increasing,
‘ Sir *Richard* at last fairly and honestly represents, in a
‘ letter to the Prince, the impossibility of doing any
‘ thing with an army so distracted by different and con-
‘ tradictory orders : and recommends a more absolute
‘ command to be given to some person whom all would
‘ obey,

cordingly his Highness, accompanied by his council, on the second of *March*, one thousand

‘obey, and names the Lord *Hopton*, who had formerly
 ‘commanded with great glory and success*.’ In
 consequence of this advice, *Hopton* was chosen general;
 but Sir *Richard*, on refusing to act under him, was put
 under an arrest, and committed to *Launceston* goal; where
 he continued till the fate of the West was determined.
 ‘Thus it was that this fatal council gave the finishing
 ‘stroke to the war, where alone any footing was left :
 ‘the service every where languished, the soldiers gradu-
 ‘ally deserted, and the Lord *Hopton*, though a braver or
 ‘a better man could not be, was compelled, after some
 ‘faint resistances, to disband and accept of such condi-
 ‘tions as the enemy would give. Thus by an unac-
 ‘countable interposition of mixt councils of swordmen
 ‘and gownmen, by unavoidable disputes and contradic-
 ‘tions of persons of such different professions, incom-
 ‘patible in their opinions and decisions, that victorious
 ‘body of Western men, which had fought so many bat-
 ‘tles, obtained so many victories, invincible in the whole
 ‘course of the war, flush’d with success in all encoun-
 ‘ters, and still in condition not only to have stood their
 ‘ground, but to have attempted greater things, was by
 ‘one rash measure, the effect of private prejudice, at
 ‘once broken, scatter’d, dispers’d, and totally defeated.
 ‘—Nothing better is to be expected from divided coun-

* Lord Lansdown’s works, vol. ii. p. 209—217, 12mo. Lond. 1736.
 See also Sir Richard Greenville’s own narrative of the proceedings of his
 Majesty’s affairs in the West : and Lord Hopton’s relation of the same, in
 Ormonde’s State Papers, by Carte, vol. i. p. 96—126, Lond. 1739.

thousand six hundred forty-five, O. S. departed from *Pendennis*, and soon arrived in the

(p) Landf.
down, vol.
ii. p. 224.

cils. What then was left for the chancellor to do, but to shift the blame any where from himself? What could be more natural? Not only Sir *Richard*, but every officer of the army, nay the soldiers themselves, the very private men, all who differed from him in the council, or in the Princes family, not one escapes the stroke of his pen! In this part of his history therefore (for I meddle with no other) he is rather to be supposed an advocate for his own conduct, than an impartial relator of the actions of others (p). Lord *Clarendon* throughout, is indeed more an advocate than an historian. I pretend not to exculpate *Greenville*: he was, probably, a bad man; as soldiers of fortune, in times of civil distractions, for the most part are: but it is no way unlikely, his censure of the councils of the chancellor of the Exchequer, did not a little contribute to the shocking figure he makes in the history of the rebellion. — Having given the sentiments of these two writers concerning the loss of the West; it will be but justice to say, that the valour of Sir *Thomas Fairfax's* army contributed as much as any thing thereunto. The observations of a writer, who was present during all the transactions in those parts, though delivered in a very plain style, are worthy of notice. 'The hard task the army had in forcing up so great a body as 5000 of the enemies horse, into such a narrow neck of land, through a country so cragged, in such a season of the year, the ground all covered over with snow, the ways so slippery, and the weather so bitter cold, by a hard frost

the islands of *Scilly*. The Parliament understanding this, invited him to return into *England*[F], and reside in some place agreeable

‘frost of that continuance, as had not been known for many years before, may well be compared with *Hannibal’s* forcing his passage into *Italy* through the frozen *Alps* with fire and vinegar. That five thousand horse and more should be forced to capitulate and yield themselves to an army coming short of that number in horse, is that which history can hardly parallel, and posterity will scarce believe-(q).’ Thus the association, which promised such mighty matters, we see, was a mere chimera; and the Prince was so far from being able to gain any advantage over the Parliament by it, that it only hastened the subjection of those who projected it! After the reduction of the West, the King’s affairs declined apace; and, before the end of the following year, he was wholly deprived of towns, and armies, by the conqueror.

(q) Sprigge’s
England’s
Recovery,
p. 229, fol.
Lond. 1647.

(F) *The Parliament invited the Prince to return into England.*] Though the Prince had the nominal command of the Western army, the Parliament had no disinclination towards him, or desire of his damage. They would gladly have had him with them; in hopes thereby to bring his father to terms, and settle the nation on a proper footing. For hitherto they were pretty well the masters of their own army, and the King himself was looked on with some degree of reverence by most kinds of men. — The sending of the Prince abroad, was an action displeasing to the people in general; to many of the Prince’s own servants, particu-

able to them. For it is not improbable that they wished well to the Prince at that time, and would with pleasure have made use of mediation for peace with the King, on terms consistent

(r) Parli-
mentary
History, vol.
xiv. p. 293.
8vo. Lond.
1755.

larly to Lord *Hopton*, 'who professed his ignorance of it, and that they were traitors who had a hand in it (r);' and more especially to the Parliament, who, on the 30th of *March*, 1746, O. S. agreed on the form of a letter to be sent to him, in these words:

S I R,

THE Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of *England*, being informed that your Highness is lately removed into the isle of *Scilly*, have commanded us, in their names, to invite you to come forth-
with into their quarters; and to reside in such place, and with such council and attendants about you, as the two houses shall think fit to appoint. This being all we have in charge, we take leave to rest

Your Highness's humble servants,

MANCHESTER, speaker of the house of
Peers *pro tempore*.

WILLIAM LENTHALL, speaker of the
Commons house in Parliament.

The Prince in answer, dated, 'At our court in the
' isle of *Seilly*, April 15, 1646,' after acknowledging the receipt of the above letter, adds, 'We have a great and
' earnest desire to be amongst you, if we might have
' any assurance that it might prove an expedient towards a
' blessed

consistent with their own safety and honor, and the welfare and liberties of the people. His Highness, however, was not to be prevailed on: for, leaving *Scilly*, he went to

‘ blessed peace, and the composure of these miserable
‘ distractions; and therefore, when we were compelled
‘ to depart from *Cornwall*, we chose this poor island
‘ to reside in, where we hoped we might have securely
‘ attended Gods pleasure, till we might have been made
‘ an instrument towards a happy peace; but the scarcity
‘ of provisions being such in this place, that we have
‘ not since our coming hither, which is now about six
‘ weeks, received one day’s victual, though we left servants
‘ of our own in our dutchy of *Cornwall* to take
‘ care for our necessary supply, we are again compelled to
‘ remove to the island of *Jersey*, whither we hope God
‘ Almighty will direct us; which place we chose the rather,
‘ as well being part of the dominions of our royal
‘ father (which as yet it is evident to you we have no
‘ no mind to quit) as being much nearer to you, and so
‘ fitter for correspondency; and therefore, that we may
‘ the better receive advice from you, with which we shall
‘ always comply as far as with our duty and piety we
‘ may, we desire you to send to us a safe conduct for the
‘ Lord *Capel* to come to you, and to receive from you
‘ such particular propositions for our welfare and subsistence
‘ as you think fit to make; and that he may then
‘ attend our royal father and return to us at *Jersey*; and
‘ thereupon we hope, by the blessing of God, you will
‘ receive such satisfaction as shall testify the great desire
‘ we have, and shall always have, to follow the counsel
‘ and

to *Jersey*, and from thence to *France*, as required and commanded by his father and mother, where he met with the treatment of Princes dependent on others for subsistence (G).

However

(*) Parliamentary
History, vol.
xiv. p. 379.

‘and advice you shall give, which will be an unspeakable comfort to us (s).’ — This was a very artful letter, and tended to cover the design, long before fixed, of going into *France*, and to render the execution of it the more easy. Accordingly the Prince, departing from *Scilly*, went to *Jersey*; where, after great disputes among his council, some of whom, and particularly the chancellor of the Exchequer, remained on the island, he embarked for *France*, and safely arrived at *Paris*. Indeed many of the Prince’s counsellors thought it very unsafe and impolitic to trust the heir to the *British* dominions in a foreign land, especially as it was well known he would be there under the government of his mother, whose counsels had been so fatal to herself, her husband, and the kingdom. But the truth was, — the King judged the Prince’s freedom necessary to his own preservation; — that it was in danger from the power of the Parliament in any part of his dominions; — and the Queen, who loved to give the law to her husband, peremptorily insisted on her son’s residence with her: to which the King was no way averse, though he had more than once also mentioned *Denmark* as the place of refuge.

(G) *He met with the treatment of Princes dependent on others for subsistence.*] It had been suspected, and talked, that *France* was intended for the abode of the Prince, some time before it was so in f. &c. Nor was it a secret in

However here he abode, till called into
action

in that kingdom, that such was the intention of their Majesties. ‘ One of the Prince’s bed-chamber, who
‘ was newly returned from *Paris*, brought a letter from
‘ the Earl of *Norwich*, then the Kings ambassador there,
‘ to one of the council ; in which taking notice of a re-
‘ port there of the Prince of *Wales*’s coming thither, he
‘ passionately declared against it as a certain ruin to the
‘ Prince ; of which the messenger, by his direction, gave
‘ many instances of moment (t).’ The advice, we see,
had no effect, though the event shewed the wisdom of it.
Lord *Clarendon* tells us, that ‘ all the professions which
‘ had been made of respect and tenderness towards the
‘ Prince of *Wales* when his person should once appear in
‘ *France* were unworthily disappointed. The Prince,
‘ continues he, had been above two months with the
‘ Queen his mother, before any notice was taken of his
‘ being in *France*, by the least message sent from the
‘ court to congratulate his arrival there ; but that time
‘ was spent in debating the formalities of his reception ;
‘ how the King should treat him ? whether he should
‘ take place of Monsieur the King’s brother ? and what
‘ kind of ceremonies should be observed between the
‘ Prince of *Wales* and his uncle the Duke of *Orleans* ?
‘ and many such other particulars ; in all which they
‘ were resolved to give the law themselves ; and which
‘ had been fitter to have been adjusted in *Jersey*, before
‘ he put himself into their power, than disputed after-
‘ wards in the court of *France* ; from which there could
‘ be then no appeal. — And it can hardly be believed,
‘ with how little respect they treated him during the
‘ whole time of his stay there. They were very care-
‘ ful,

(t) Hist. of
the Rebel-
lion, vol. iv,
p. 685.

action by the revolt of part of the
fleet

(u) Id. vol.
v. p. 33, 34.

‘ful, that he might not be look’d upon as supported by
‘them, either according to his dignity, or for the main-
‘tenance of his family; but a mean addition to the
‘pension which the Queen had before, was made to her
‘Majesty, without any mention of the Prince her son;
‘who was wholly to depend upon her bounty, without
‘power to gratify or oblige any of his own servants;
‘that they likewise might depend only upon the Queens
‘goodness and favour, and so behave themselves accord-
‘ingly (u).’ All this was very naturally to have been
expected. For *France* was too much engaged with the
whole house of *Austria*, to wish to raise up new foes,
which, probably, would have been the event had they
received *Charles* with the ceremonies to which his birth
entitled him, and enabled him to live in splendor. Nor
would it have been becoming the prudence of *Mazarine*
to have lavished the treasures of the crown on an exiled
Prince, when their armies were frequently in want of
pay, and money was of so great importance to their af-
fairs. Add to this, that misfortunes seldom create re-
spect in standers by; and that dependence, of course,
meets with slights and neglects.

If there be man (ye gods) I ought to hate,
Dependence and attendance be his fate.

COWLEY.

Those have little sense of their own dignity, or rather
can have no dignity at all, who stoop for favours, or pay
attendance in expectation of them, when by œconomy or
industry they can maintain their independency, and, by
that

that means, rank with the greatest. — The neglect of the *French* court was not the only evil felt by the Prince. His mother exerted her authority over him, and required the like submission she had exacted from his father. ‘The Prince,’ says the writer so often quoted in this note, ‘remained at *Paris* under the government of his mother; exercised with that strictness, that though his Highness was above the age of seventeen years, it was not desired that he should meddle in any business, or be sensible of the unhappy condition the royal family was in. The assignation which was made by the court of *France* for the better support of the Prince, was annexed to the monthly allowance given to the Queen, and received by her, and distributed as she thought fit; such cloaths and other necessaries provided for his Highness as were thought convenient; her Majesty desiring to have it thought that the Prince liv’d entirely upon her, and that it would not consist with the dignity of a Prince of *Wales* to be a pensioner to the King of *France*. Hereby none of his Highness’s servants had any pretence to ask money, but they were to be contented with what should be allowed to them; which was dispensed with a very sparing hand; nor was the Prince ever master of ten pistoles to dispose as he desired. The Lord *Jermyn* was the Queens chief officer, and govern’d all her receipts, and he loved plenty so well, that he would not be without it, whatever others suffered. All who had any relation to the Prince, were to implore his aid; and the Prince himself could obtain nothing but by him; which made most persons of honour of the *English* nation, who were driven into banishment, as many of the nobility and chief gentry of the kingdom then were, choose rather to make their residence in
‘ some

fleet from the Parliament (H), which, together with the commotions in *England* and *Wales*, and the *Scottish* army, under the

‘ some other place, as *Caen*, *Roan*, and the like, than
 ‘ in *Paris*, where the Prince was, and could do so little : nor was this œconomy well liked even in *France*,
 ‘ nor the Prince himself so much respected as he would
 ‘ have been if he had lived more like himself, and appeared more concern’d in his own business (x).’ What a hopeful plight must the Prince be indeed in ; poor, and subjugated to the will of an imperious mother, directed by an all-commanding, sole favourite ! No condition could be less worthy of envy.

(x) Ib. p.
 116.

(H) *The revolt of part of the fleet from the Parliament, &c.]* After the vote of, *No more addresses to the King*, a strong inclination for peace with him took place in the minds of the majority of the *British* nation. For suffering excites compassion ; and compassion is active and powerful. Besides this, those who had taken the lead, since the new modelling of the army, in the house, had many enemies, on account of their avowed principles and behaviour. Their disregard to the *Covenant* disgusted the *Scots* : the restraint laid on the fiery zeal of the *English* presbyterians was very ill brooked by them : and the cavaliers could not with patience see themselves subjected by those who had formerly been the objects of their derision. — Add to this, that there was not a man of these three parties, though disagreeing among themselves, but looked with horror on the dethroning, imprisoning, or executing of their King. — These men, then full of resentment against the leaders in the Parliament and army, and

the command of *Hamilton*, intended for the service of the King, gave him and his friends some hope of his deliverance from captivity.

and mindful of past wrongs ; — the *Scots* without *English* pay ; — the *English* presbyterians dispossessed of command ; — the cavaliers smarting under the penalties of delinquency ; — determined, in conjunction, to avenge themselves ; reinstate the King ; and humble those who were now their masters, and would willingly continue so to be. For this end, the *Scots* had concluded a treaty with the King in the isle of *Wight*, in which the Covenant was approved : the *English* presbyterians had promised their aid and assistance to promote the success of the *Scots* ; and a commission was given to Lord *Holland* to raise an army in order to ascertain it. Accordingly, the *Scots* entered *England* ; *Wales* was in arms ; and *Essex* and *Kent* had forces, headed by *Holland*, *Buckingham*, *Capel*, and others who had adhered to the King from the beginning, or repented of their having fallen off from him. — The King had agreed that the Prince of *Wales* should put himself at the head of the *Scots* on their entring into *England*. Accordingly he was preparing for it, but was hindered by part of the fleet's declaring for his Majesty. This was on the 27th of *May*, 1648. What became of the insurrections in *England* and *Wales* is well known ; nor can any be ignorant of the total defeat of the *Scots* at *Preston*. With regard to the fleet, it will be proper to observe, that it was ten ships and frigates which had revolted from the Parliament : for the seamen had caught the contagion of the times, and nothing would serve but

captivity. But every attempt for the restoration of that Monarch proved in vain, through the abilities of those who opposed him ;

but they must have the Duke of *York* for their admiral, and have the honour of bearing a part in his Majesty's restoration. For which end, sailing from the *Downs*, they arrived in *Holland*, where the Duke went aboard, and was soon joined by his brother the Prince of *Wales*, accompanied by Prince *Rupert*, the Lords *Willoughby* of *Parham*, *Colepepper*, and *Hopton*. With this force he sailed to *Yarmouth*, and thence to the *Downs* (leaving the Duke of *York* at the *Hague*), from whence he proceeded into the *Thames*, in order to encourage the King's party in the city, and make the people clamorous for a peace. Here he took some prizes of considerable value, which he apologised for in a letter to the lord mayor and aldermen : and soon after published ' a declaration to all his Majesties loving subjects, concerning the grounds and ends of his present engagement upon the fleet in the *Downs*.' In this piece, after declaring himself under a necessity of taking up arms in order to rescue his father from captivity, and the good people of the kingdom from the cruel tyranny of fellow-subjects, he adds, — ' Being thus rightly understood ' by those, whose interest, as well as their duty, obligeth ' them to join with us in this good work ; as we shall ' in the first place, look up to Heaven for a blessing ' from the Lord of Hosts on this good cause, so we shall ' desire, and expect, the ready and chearful assistance ' of the hearts and hands of all his Majesties good subjects, as opportunity, effectually, to appear with and ' for

him; and the Prince, in particular, obtained very little reputation by assuming a command to which he was no way equal, and

‘ for us, shall be offered to them. And that the usual
 ‘ cunning arts of their and our enemies may not abuse
 ‘ any of them with false suggestions or misinterpretations of our proceedings, we hereby, with that candour and sincerity which becomes a Christian and a
 ‘ Prince, declare and publish to the whole world, that
 ‘ the true grounds, reasons and ends of this our engagement are these, and none other.’

‘ 1. The honor of Gods holy name, in defence of
 ‘ the true Protestant religion, and his divine worship,
 ‘ against all opposers whatsoever; and particularly
 ‘ against the heresies, schisms, scandalous doctrines and
 ‘ practices declared against in his Majesties agreement
 ‘ with the *Scots* commissioners, bearing date at *Carisbrook-castle* the 26th of *December* last; and the establishing church government as is therein mentioned,
 ‘ and accorded to by his Majesty, as also the mutual performance of that agreement.’

‘ 2. The restoring of his Majesty to his liberty and
 ‘ just rights; and in order thereunto, and for the settling of a happy peace, a speedy personal treaty with
 ‘ his Majesty, with honor, freedom, and safety.’

‘ 3. The support and defence of the known laws of
 ‘ the kingdom.’

‘ 4. The maintenance of the freedom and just privileges of Parliament.’

‘ 5. The defence of the liberty and property of the
 ‘ subject against all violence, rapine, and oppression;

and which had but little effect. For every thing gave way to the power of the army, who, after having defeated their enemies, and purged the house of commons of the members

‘ such as excise, contribution, free quarter, and all other illegal taxes.’

‘ 6. The obtaining such an act of oblivion and indemnity as may most firmly bind up the bond of peace.’

‘ 7. The speedy disbanding of all armies, and particularly that under the command of the Lord *Fairfax*.’

‘ 8. The defence of the honor of the *English* nation, and his Majesties rights in the narrow seas; the protection and security of the trade of all his Majesties loyal subjects; the support of the navy royal, and the encouragement of all the officers and mariners of the same, to whose exemplary courage, conduct, and good affections, we owe this present opportunity with them, thus to appear for peace.’

‘ And now having thus fully and sincerely declared our intentions and resolutions, we earnestly invite, and (by the authority as well as interest in our person during his Majesties restraint, as also deriv’d particularly and formally from him, under the great seal of *England*) do require and command, all his Majesties loyal subjects heartily to join and associate themselves with us in this our undertaking; and, with force of arms under us, as likewise by all other good means in their power, to oppose and resist all such persons and forces, as well by land as sea, as shall oppose us and this blessed peace. As likewise to be aiding and assisting to all such as are now in arms against those enemies

members who opposed their designs, seized the King, brought him up to *London* as a prisoner, and, by the authority of the remainder of the house of commons, appointed

'mies of peace; and particularly to encourage, aid, and relieve, as friends and brethren, the *Scots* army, now on their march for his Majesties rescue; of whose loyalty to his Majesty, and good affections to the kingdom of *England*, we are fully satisfied. And we more especially exhort the city of *London* and the port-towns of *England*, upon whose actions the eyes of the whole kingdom are particularly fixed, by their good example, to encourage all the people of *England* manfully to shake off the heavy yoke now imposed on them by force of arms, as on a conquered nation; and instead of that lawless power which now depriveth them of the security of their persons, and the property of their goods and estates, to vindicate the just rights of free-born subjects of *England*, in seeking their protection under the government of their undoubted sovereign Lord our royal father, and the law of the land (y).' — After this follows a most gracious offer of pardon to the officers and soldiers of *Fairfax's* army, and to the officers and seamen of *Warwick's* fleet, who should join with him; and an invitation to the people in general to associate themselves as one man against all opposers of peace, and thereby prevent a bloody war for generations to come. This declaration was very artful. It flattered the *Scots*: it soothed the *English* presbyterians: it caressed the citizens, and pointed out to them their own importance.

(y) Parliamentary History, vol. xvii. p. 342.

pointed a day for his trial, in order that he might undergo a punishment, which, in the opinion of his judges, he should deserve. This alarmed the Prince; who, it

— But it had no effects. The army, seeing itself beset on all sides, and its destruction avowed, exerted itself with uncommon diligence, and overcame all their opposers. As to the fleet under Prince *Charles*, except the prizes taken by it, it hurt his adversaries little. Faction, so fatal to weak bodies, entered into and rendered it of no significancy: for it left the *Downs* on the approach of the enemy, and went for *Holland*, where it no longer was an object of terror. It ought not to be omitted, that, the above declaration being presented by the sheriffs of *London* to the Commons, and the citizens being withdrawn, it was moved, that the house should declare him a rebel and a traitor. The motion miscarried, as they had then voted for a treaty of peace with the King. — But, however, all were declared such who adhered to or assisted him in the present war (z). This was but poor encouragement. The house of Peers was then applied to by him, in a letter dated from aboard the fleet in the *Downs*, Aug. 5, in the 24th year of the reign of the King our royal father. In this letter, among other things, he proposed, ‘ that an orderly moderate subsistence during the treaty ‘ between the King and the two houses, be agreed upon ‘ for all armies and forces now on foot, and particularly ‘ for the *Scots* army, in such manner as may be with the ‘ least pressure on the Northern counties. He then offers his mediation for obtaining from his Majesty all ‘ such

(z) Id. p.
384.

it is said, writ a letter to *Fairfax*(1) in his father's behalf, and offered their own terms to the Parliament, to procure his safety.

— He had no attention, however, paid unto him: for the King, as it is well known, being condemned, lost his life before

Whitehall,

‘such concessions and acts of grace as might conduce to peace, and concludes with desiring that some equal course might be suddenly settled for the support of himself and the navy with him.’ An answer was agreed on to this letter by the Lords, *Aug. 19*; in which, after thanking his Highness for the offer of his mediation for peace, which they took as an argument of the affection he bore to his native country, they add, ‘and we do conceive that nothing can more conduce to procure your Highness an interest in the affections of all the people of *England*, than to steer all your motions in concurrence with those councils and resolutions that are taken in the Parliament; which is, by the antient constitution of the government of this kingdom, the great council thereof (a).’ This was a sharp reprimand for encouraging the *Scotch* invasion, the *English* insurrections, and the naval revolt. For though the Lords and Commons, the majority of them, earnestly wished for peace, they chose not to have it imposed on them, and all their labours rendered totally vain and insignificant, and their own safety endangered; as it must have been, had the designs then on foot succeeded, which the Prince openly encouraged.

(1) *The Prince wrote a letter to Fairfax, &c.*] It being determined by the army, with the approbation of

Whitehall, to the amazement of all his partizans. And that the hopes of the Prince of *Wales* might be entirely cut off, all persons were forbidden to declare, publish, or promote him, or any other person, to be King or chief magistrate of *England*, or *Ireland*,

the Parliament, to bring the King to a trial for high-treason; his friends were greatly alarmed. The Prince, in particular, made application to the states of *Holland* to interpose in his behalf to the Parliament; which they promised to do, and actually did, by an ambassador sent for that purpose: though it proved of no significancy. Not content herewith, he sent a servant with a letter to *Fairfax* and the council of war (for he knew the Parliament had no authority), in which he told them, ‘ that
 ‘ he had no other means to be informed of the health
 ‘ and condition of the King his royal father, but by the
 ‘ common prints, and general intelligences that arriv’d
 ‘ in those parts: he had reason by those to believe, that
 ‘ after the expiration of the treaty in the isle of *Wight*
 ‘ (where he hoped the foundation for a happy peace had
 ‘ been laid) his Majesty had been carried to *Hurst*
 ‘ castle; and since, by some officers of the army to
 ‘ *Windsor*, not without purpose of a more violent pro-
 ‘ secution; the rumour whereof, though of so mon-
 ‘ strous and incredible a nature, had called upon his
 ‘ piety to make this address to them; who had at this
 ‘ time the power to chuse, whether they would raise
 ‘ lasting monuments to themselves of loyalty and piety,
 ‘ by restoring their Sovereign to his just rights, and
 ‘ their

Ireland, without consent of Parliament : the house of Peers was declared useless and dangerous : and the Kingly office itself, utterly abolished. A commonwealth hereupon was erected ; and an engagement imposed on all persons (on pain of incapacity

‘ their country to peace and happiness, a glory which had
 ‘ been seldom absolutely vouchsafed to so small a number
 ‘ of men ; or to make themselves the authors of endless
 ‘ misery to the kingdom, by contributing or consenting
 ‘ to an act which all Christians, into how different opi-
 ‘ nions soever divided, must abhor as the most inconsis-
 ‘ tent with the elements of any religion, and destructive
 ‘ to the security and being of any kind of government.
 ‘ He did therefore earnestly desire and conjure them,
 ‘ sadly to consider the vast and prodigious disproportion
 ‘ in that election ; and then, he said, he could not doubt
 ‘ but that they would chuse to do that which is most just,
 ‘ safe, and honourable for them to do ; make themselves
 ‘ the blest instruments to preserve, defend, and restore
 ‘ their King, to whom only their allegiance was due ;
 ‘ by which every one of them might justly promise
 ‘ themselves peace of conscience, the singular good will
 ‘ and favour of his Majesty, the ample thanks and ac-
 ‘ knowledgments of all good men, and the particular
 ‘ and unalterable affection of the Prince himself. This
 ‘ letter,’ continues my author, ‘ was, with much ado,
 ‘ deliver’d into the hands of *Fairfax* himself ; but the
 ‘ messenger could never be admitted to speak with him ;
 ‘ nor was there more known than that it was read in the
 ‘ council of war, and laid aside (b).’ If this letter was

D 4

really

(b) Cla-
 rendon, vol.
 v. p. 251.

city of bearing office in church or state) to be true and faithful to the commonwealth of *England*, as then established, without King or house of Lords. This gave rise to a controversy, which it will be proper

really written and sent, its success was just such as might have been expected. For what heed could be given to the intercessions or promises of a man who but a very little before had declared himself an enemy to them, and desirous of their destruction? Filial piety might naturally prompt, and a father's imminent danger might excite, to such an address; but cool reason must pronounce that it would be ineffectual. The men his royal Highness had to do with, were not to be charmed with words.—It is said, the Prince also sent to the Parliament, to prescribe the terms on which his Majesty's head might be secured. This is not improbable; as I know there is in the *British Museum* a blank paper, at the bottom of which, on the right hand, is written, *Charles P.* and on the left, opposite thereunto, a seal is affixed; and on the back there is written, in another hand, *Prince Charles his carte blanche to the Parliament to save his father's head.* However, no intercessions were regarded; and the Prince had the mortification to find that the pretence of royal blood could not fix a tyrant on the throne, or secure him from open punishment. Happy had it been if the children of this monarch had learned wisdom from the sufferings of their father! But a fatality, for the most part, attended their race: they loved tyranny, and they experienced the ha-
tred

proper to give an account of (κ). — In the mean time, *Charles* was proclaimed King

ted it produced. May it be the fate of such as imitate them, in every age, and in every nation ! that they may know the rights of human nature ; the prerogative of man ; and the laws, the reasonable laws, of their respective communities.

Ye wretches, ye perfidious train,
 Ye curst of Gods and freeborn men,
 Ye murd'ers of the laws ;
 Tho' now you glory in your lust,
 Tho' now you tread the feeble neck in dust,
 Yet time and righteous Jove will judge your dreadful cause. AKENSIDE.

(κ) *This gave rise to a controversy, which it will be proper to give an account of.*] The act for subscribing the engagement passed the house Jan. 2, 1649, O. S. and continued in force till Jan. 19, 1653 ; when, by the authority of *Cromwell* and his Parliament, it was laid aside. Mr. *Whitlock* tells us, ‘ that it was ordered f that the lords commissioners of the great seal do take ‘ care that writs be issued out and sent down into every ‘ county to the several sheriffs to proclaim the act touching ‘ the engagement. This course of proclaiming new acts of ‘ Parliament,’ adds he, ‘ was very antient, and constantly ‘ used (especially in elder times), as appears by the records, but of late disused. I thought fit to have it revived ‘ again, that the people might be informed what acts ‘ were passed, which they were not so fully by the printing

King of *Scotland* by the Parliament of that nation; who resolved to send a committee

(c) Whitlock, p. 439.

ing, as by proclaiming of them at their markets (c). The revival of this practice seems to have been highly reasonable; though, with many others, it was not continued after the Restoration. — The end and design of the engagement was to secure the new government against its adversaries, which were neither few, nor contemptible: it being judged proper to permit none to enjoy power under the commonwealth, who were not well inclined towards it, or who could not quietly sit easy under it. It of consequence made many removes among men of real principles, and excited many disputes among those who were actuated by conscience. As for the herd in the higher or lower classes, in all ages they are one, — without thought, consideration, or honor; and consequently it may easily be supposed, that they very quietly submitted. Various were the opinions, and opposite the practices, of very wise and good men, concerning this oath, which was intended to establish a quite different form of government from what they had been used to; and each party appealed to the public, as usual on such occasions. ‘The arraignment, conviction and condemnation of the *Westminsterian-Juncto’s* Engagement (d),’ written, as I believe, by *Prynne*, without a name, immediately appeared. In this it was alledged, ‘that it was imposed by those, who by the laws never had power to administer, much less to make or impose any oath, supposing them a full and free house of Commons, as they were not; that it was contrary to all antient oaths, the modern oaths
‘ of

(d) In 4to, 1649, without the name of place or printer.

mittee to invite him thither, on condition
of his giving satisfaction concerning the
security

‘ of allegiance and supremacy, the vow and protesta-
‘ tion, the solemn league and covenant, and engage-
‘ ment of the whole kingdom to the King, his heirs,
‘ successors and posterity for ever.’ It was farther said,
‘ it would involve the nation in endless wars with the
‘ family of the late King, and the nobility ; and engage
‘ *Scotland* and *Ireland* to unite with the young Kings
‘ foreign friends and allies against *England* ; and finally,
‘ that the erection of a commonwealth would sink the
‘ nation into contempt in the eyes of those around
‘ them, and expose its subjects to the worst treatment.’
Other writers followed ; who plainly declared the com-
monwealth to be an usurpation, and consequently to be
without right to obedience. In support hereof, it was
alleged,

‘ 1. That as all lawful power is founded on the wills
‘ of those over whom it is set ; contrariwise, usurpa-
‘ tion is built upon the will and power of them that
‘ hold the government : more especially when a party
‘ owing obedience and subjection to a long-continued,
‘ and undoubted lawful power, and solemnly sworn to
‘ submit to and support that government, shall rise up,
‘ and presume to thrust out the possessors, and invest it-
‘ self, yea, and not only seize on the power, but of its
‘ own mind and will, or by its force alone, abolish the
‘ settled, and set up a new mould of government, this
‘ is usurpation to the culmen or height of it.’

‘ 2. No obedience is due to usurpers. For I cannot
‘ (if I would) yeeld up myself in obedience to him that
‘ hath

security of religion, the union of the two kingdoms, and the good and peace of that kingdom,

‘hath no authority over me. Take him as a usurper, and my allegiance is incompatible to him. Obedience and authority, magistrate and subject, are terms of relation, and doe *se mutuo ponere & tollere*: they are inseperable from one another; if there be no magistracy in him, there can be no obedience properly and formally in me to him. I may (either warrantably or unwarrantably) doe an act possibly which he commanded; but that cannot be truly and properly said to be an act of obedience to him. His authority is null, of no reality. He is no magistrate, but a private person; my fellow subject (if one of the nation), or a foreigner to me. His commanding over me and others, is, as if a private soldier should take upon him to give orders to his company, or an inferior officer to an army; or a servant should offer to rule over his fellow servants.’

‘3. I may not (if I could) yeild up myself as a subject to the usurper; in so doing I should take away the right of the lawful magistrate which he hath over me, and injure him in the allegiance which I stand tyed in to him, and he still retaineth the claim of at my hands. The magistrate is (in the case in hand) granted to be in being; he is but deprived of possession and enjoyment, not of property or title; he is yet standing in the relation of a magistrate to me, and is only outed of his station per force. The obedience of a subject is not so arbitrary or loose a thing, as that I may place and remove it at pleasure, or as af-

fairs

kingdom, according to the national covenant, and the solemn league and covenant.

‘fairs go; but it is a debt which I must render to him unto whom it is due. Neither is sovereignty so common, ambulatory, or prostitute a matter, as that its title ceaseth unto him that is violently extruded or dispossessed of it, and becometh any ones that by force captivates it to himself; the expelled magistrate still standing upon his claim and right, and the power in possession having no title but his injurious and forcible entrance; the subject is not disobliged from him that is expelled, nor at his choice to transfer his obedience to another, neither can the violent intruder challenge it (e).’ — These were the principal reasons alledged against taking the engagement, reasons which must operate against all new governments, and render them unsafe, and their subjects unhappy. But the commonwealth wanted not its advocates, who understood government well, and pointed out the lawfulness of submission. With regard to the authority that imposed the engagement, it was asked, ‘Why is not this effectually a Parliament, seeing it is the supream present power of the whole nation, no part excluded? which in this controversy is the very term of the question. I hope he means no criticism by the word Parliament; if he doth, it signifies only a public speaking or consulting together for the public. Moreover the author would be, I am sure, much perplexed, if I should ask him, how he knoweth so indubitably that this is not a Parliament or supream power requisite for the kingdom, according to the mind of God? He must
‘pardon

(e) An Exercitation concerning Usurped Powers. 4to. 1650, without name or place.

nant. These conditions were far enough from being acceptable to the King or his counsellors.

‘ pardon us if we think forms no more than persons
 ‘ are to last here always ; or that the changes which
 ‘ have been, and still are to be of both, must never be
 ‘ done, but according to the customary formalities of a
 ‘ quiet people, but rather according to the extreme ne-
 ‘ cessity of a state. For if he ask me, what it is forms
 ‘ in-organiz’d people into a government, of what sort
 ‘ soever ? I answer, necessity. If, what makes or takes
 ‘ away a law in a government established ? I answer,
 ‘ necessity. If, what takes away a government itself ?
 ‘ I answer, that which first gave it being, viz. necessity.
 ‘ Of which there are several degrees ; for in a peaceable
 ‘ state, a word may take away that which in a disturb’d
 ‘ state must be taken away by the sword : after which it
 ‘ is but equal that he who gives the last blow, should in
 ‘ that quarrel give the last word, and leave us to a pe-
 ‘ remptory obedience, unless we would have no quarter
 ‘ in the world, or be like the old *Servati in Bello*, who
 ‘ were sold, confin’d to chains all their lives, or con-
 ‘ demn’d to dig perpetually in mines. — They who
 ‘ sit at top in the state, are *tanquam in nubibus* to the
 ‘ eyes of us of the people. We know not how they ma-
 ‘ nage their counsels, nor contrive their transactions ;
 ‘ that is best determined by and amongst themselves. It
 ‘ is enough for us if they be of a number competent to
 ‘ act, and be persons who enter by virtue of free elec-
 ‘ tion, and sit in legal place. For in a case where five
 ‘ are chosen to a business, and that any three of them
 ‘ are to be of the quorum, though two of them be ne-
 ‘ ver

counsellors. For they hated the covenant,
as an engine of mischief to their late
master ;

‘ ver so accidentally or violently detained, yet what the
‘ other three do, is to all intents and purposes valid.
‘ — As for the will of the major part of the people,
‘ how will he prove, that they had not rather obey this
‘ present power, than seek to be rid of it by the ha-
‘ zards and calamities of another war ? They usually
‘ look after nothing but their rents, markets and rea-
‘ sonable subsistence. They are the luxurious and the
‘ ambitious part only which pretends to new troubles.
‘ The peoples question therefore is not how the change
‘ was made, but, *an fit*, whether it be so changed or
‘ not ? For, if according to its formalitie that be not
‘ rightly done, it concerneth not their consciences no
‘ more than the thunder and lightning over their heads
‘ doth, which are things totally out of their power,
‘ much less may they desolate neighbours for them (f).’

The same argument was urged by the celebrated
Marchamont Nedham, in his ‘ Case of the Common-
‘ wealth stated (g).’ In this pamphlet he sets himself
to prove, that governments have their revolutions and
fatal periods ; that the power of the sword is, and ever
hath been, the foundation of all titles to government ;
and that non-submission to government justly deprives
men of the benefit of its protection. Under this head,
he says, ‘ private and particular persons have no right
‘ to question how those came by their power that are in
‘ authority over them ; for if that were once admitted,
‘ there would be no end of disputes in the world touch-
‘ ing titles. It is ground enough for the submission of
‘ particular

(f) The
Bounds and
Bonds of
Publique O-
bedience, p.
4, 10, 11.
4to. Lond.
1650.
(g) 4to.
Lond, 1650.

master; nor did they indeed at all love the *Scottish* nation, by reason of its resistance

‘ particular persons in things of political equity, that
 ‘ those which have gotten the power are irresistible,
 ‘ and able to force it if they refuse. For as touching
 ‘ this case (saith the most excellent *Grotius*), private
 ‘ persons ought not to take upon them to meddle with
 ‘ these controversies in point of title, but rather to follow
 ‘ them that are in possession.’ — As to the alledged
 usurpation of the present governors, they having no call
 from the people — he answers, ‘ That if only a call
 ‘ from the people constitute a lawful magistracie, then
 ‘ there hath been very rarely any lawful magistracie
 ‘ in the world, not among us long before and since the
 ‘ Conquest. --- In *England*, most of our own Kings
 ‘ reigned without any call, but made way by their
 ‘ swords; there being of those 25 Princes that have
 ‘ king’d it among us, not above half a dozen that came
 ‘ to the crown in an orderly succession, either by lineal
 ‘ or collateral title: and not any one of those half do-
 ‘ zen but laid claim to it by virtue of their predecessors
 ‘ usurpations, without any call from the people; only
 ‘ in the investiture they had their consent, because out
 ‘ of a love of publique peace none would, or out of
 ‘ fear none durst, offer to question their titles. Now, if
 ‘ the former part of this objection were true, that a call
 ‘ were the only essential, constituting a lawful govern-
 ‘ ment; then it would follow, that, as all the world, so
 ‘ we and our ancestors have liv’d and paid obedience,
 ‘ for the most part, under an unlawful magistracie;
 ‘ which sure no sober man will affirm. But if any will
 ‘ be

tance of arbitrary measures, the assistance
it had afforded the Parliament of *England*
in

‘ be so mad as to say it, I only propound to him this so-
‘ ber quere, Why we may not now as lawfully submit
‘ to the present magistracie, in case it were unlawful, as
‘ our ancestors did heretofore to theirs, for the publique
‘ peace of the nation (h)?’

(b) p. 22.

2. As for the oath of allégiance, by which so many
held themselves bound, it was said, ‘ Allegiance is but a
‘ political tie, for politick ends; grounded upon political
‘ considerations; and therefore being politically deter-
‘ mined, when those considerations are altered by new
‘ circumstances (be it in relation to Cæsar or the Se-
‘ nate), the old allegiance is extinct, and must give
‘ place to a new. The same description may serve like-
‘ wise for the covenant; for even that part of it which
‘ relates most to religion, will be found wrapt up alto-
‘ gether in matters of discipline and church politie, to
‘ serve politick ends and interests, if the actions of our
‘ *English* and *Scotch* presbyters may be admitted as a com-
‘ ment on the text. I grant, both those oaths are reli-
‘ gious acts, as they are solemnized with the invocation
‘ of God as a witness: but as all actions are qualified
‘ from their principal end; so the main end of those
‘ oaths being obedience to the Prince in order to the
‘ good of the publique, they are of a political nature;
‘ and when such an alteration of affairs shall happen as ex-
‘ tinguishes his title, I conceive, we are not obliged, in
‘ this case, to pay him that submission which by oath
‘ we promised, but ought rather to swear a new one to
‘ those who succeed him in the government (i)—‘ The
VOL. I. E ‘ subject 25. (i) Id. p.

in the wars against *Charles* I. and the delivering up that monarch to the *English* commissaries,

‘ subject is absolved from the oath of allegiance, by
 ‘ those who have power to absolve from it. The re-
 ‘ presentatives of the people, which in reason are the
 ‘ supream power of the nation, imposed this oath upon
 ‘ the subject by an act made in Parliament, by which
 ‘ they obliged the subject to allegiance to the King
 ‘ then in being, and to his heirs : and this act done by
 ‘ their representatives, was their own voluntary act, to
 ‘ which they were not obliged by any law of God or
 ‘ nature : for there is no rule requiring them to accept
 ‘ of such a person to be their Prince, and his heirs after
 ‘ him, and to swear allegiance to him and them : but
 ‘ this was the subjects free act in their representatives ;
 ‘ therefore if the representatives take away this act, and
 ‘ repeal it, they thereby set the subjects at liberty from
 ‘ such allegiance, and from their oath by which they
 ‘ are bound unto it (k.).’

(k) Eaton's
 Positions
 against the
 Oath of Al-
 legiance, p.
 5. prefixed
 to a Vindica-
 tion of the
 Oath of Al-
 legiance.
 4to. 1650.
 without
 name or
 place.

3. To the objection, that Kings have the same rights to their kingdoms, as others have to their private properties ; — it was replied, — ‘ Such right as Kings
 ‘ have had, they never justly came by it ; but by force
 ‘ and flattery have obtained it, and have usurped upon
 ‘ the birthright of the people, to whom it belongs to
 ‘ chuse them that must rule over them ; and king-
 ‘ doms, with their appurtenances thereto, were never in-
 ‘ tended for particular mens advancement, to lift up
 ‘ such families in glory and greatness, or that the here-
 ‘ ditary right of any should be in them : but wisdom,
 ‘ righteousness and virtue was to lift up men unto
 ‘ them ;

commissaries, at *Newcastle*. ---- The King indeed had another kingdom in view, where

‘ them ; and crowns and revenues were to encourage
 ‘ them in acting in such places ; and men that were so
 ‘ qualified, were to be heirs and successors, set up by
 ‘ the people after them ; and the people themselves, nor
 ‘ their representatives, could neither give, nor sell away
 ‘ this privilege from their posterity, in which the wel-
 ‘ fare of the people is so mainly concerned, and without
 ‘ which a people are given up, and sold to ruin. This
 ‘ cannot be said of manors and demains, which are
 ‘ things that fall under commutative justice, and are
 ‘ things vendible, and wherein particular men are con-
 ‘ cerned, and not the commonwealth (1).’

(1) Id. p. 6.

4. It was further asserted, ‘ That a magistrate dis-
 ‘ possessed hath no right to be restored, nor the subject
 ‘ any obligation to seek to restore, but oppose him.
 ‘ For, what is man, or rather mankind (for so we have
 ‘ styled a nation), better than a herd of sheep or oxen,
 ‘ if it be to be owned, like them, by masters ? What dif-
 ‘ ference is there between their masters selling them to
 ‘ the butcher, and obliging them to venture their lives
 ‘ and livelihoods for his private interest ? We know it
 ‘ is natural, that the part should venture for the whole ;
 ‘ but that the whole should venture the loss of itself to save
 ‘ the part, I cannot understand. The governour is the
 ‘ highest and noblest part, yet but a part ; the people is
 ‘ the whole, the end (though not by office, yet by worth
 ‘ and dignity), the master and lord, for whom those who
 ‘ are lords by office are to be vested and divested in lord-
 ‘ ship, when it is necessary for the common good. Who

where he hoped to enjoy his own will without restraint, and to be assisted, on his

(m) The
Ground of
Obedience
and Govern-
ment, by
Thomas
White, p.
142. 2d edi.
Lond. 1655.

‘thinks otherwise deserves not the name of man (m).’

— Such were the arguments alledged in behalf of obedience and submission to the new government: arguments which demonstrate the writers of them to be men of real abilities, and knowledge of politics! Arguments which shew they had got loose from the trammels of education, custom, and prejudice; and dared to think and speak like men.

Strong were our fires, and as they fought they writ,
Conqu’ring with force of arms, and dint of wit.

DRYDEN.

And to manifest still farther the utility of submitting to the commonwealth government, it was shewn, that the young King had not the least probability of success in any attempts he might make against it; or that, if he should succeed, the consequences would be terrible. ---
‘From foreign nations he could expect little aid; ---
‘for as things were then constituted, some princes
‘wanted leizure, others ability, to assist him; and
‘divers refrained for particular reasons of state. Nor
‘could he reasonably expect much assistance from our
‘own nation, as the people will be less apt to engage in
‘new insurrections, since the last thrived so ill, to the
‘prejudice and shame of all the undertakers. Mobs
‘might rise; but it is not like that the gentry, men of es-
‘tates, will stir in any considerable number, to hazard
‘their possessions, being yet scarce warm in them, after
‘a pur-

his own terms, to recover his other dominions.

‘ a purchase made upon dear rates of composition. ---
 ‘ But should the royalists proceed with success to the
 ‘ ruin of this government, such inconveniences would
 ‘ follow to the whole nation, as would hinder all wise
 ‘ men from wishing well to them. For the King must
 ‘ come in by the power of the sword ; he will be per-
 ‘ swaded, if not inclined, to tyrannize ; there will be
 ‘ no act of obliuion pass’d beforehand, and if he gain
 ‘ possession, it is a question then, whether he will grant
 ‘ any afterward ; or if, for fashion sake, he do grant
 ‘ one, how far shall it extend, and whether it may not
 ‘ be eluded, to make way for revenge against particular
 ‘ persons, who, perhaps, little dream of an inquisition
 ‘ for past offences, as being of the moderate sort of of-
 ‘ fenders against the regal person and prerogative. ----
 ‘ Kings, it was said, were revengeful, and Princes that
 ‘ come from banishment to a kingdom, were observed
 ‘ to reign very bloodily : --- whereof they shall be first
 ‘ sensible,’ adds this writer, ‘ that have opposed his in-
 ‘ terest ; and such are all those in this nation that have
 ‘ appeared for the Parliament against the encroachments
 ‘ of the prerogative. Nor let them flatter themselves,
 ‘ that they shall scape better than others, because they
 ‘ never opposed this Princes person. It will be ground
 ‘ sufficient for his hatred, that they bandied against his
 ‘ father, and the prerogative, to which he is heir, Nor
 ‘ is it likely he will forget the observation made by one
 ‘ of his chaplains, in a sermon before him at the *Hague* ;
 ‘ how that the presbyterians held his father by the hair,
 ‘ and the independents cut off his head ; nor is it to be
 ‘ supposed that we shall have many Parliaments hereaf-

nions. This was *Ireland*; where he had been

(n) Case
of the Com-
monwealth,
p. 40—45.
See also
note [MM]

ter; for, besides the provocations given by Parliament,
it is against the nature of Kings to love parliaments or
assemblies of their people; and it was left as a legacy
by King *James* to his family, in his *Basilicon Doron*,
that his successors should neglect Parliaments as much
as might be: so that consider how this Prince is en-
gaged, not only by the interest of the crowne, his par-
ticular personal interest of revenge, but also by the
precepts of his grandfather, and the common inclina-
tion of all monarchs; and we may easily imagine what
will become of Parliaments, and parliament patriots,
if ever he get possession (n). — And whereas many
adher'd to the Prince, in their hearts, in hope they
shall be eased of excise and taxes, &c. if he be restored,
they are exceedingly mistaken. ----- If now we have
burdens, we must then look to have furrows made up-
on our backs. If now we are, through necessity, put
to endure a few whips; we shall then, of set purpose,
be chastised with scorpions. It is not an excise, or
an army, that we shall escape; but be visited with
whole legions of foreign desperadoes, which must be
fed with greater payments than ever, and, God knows
when we shall be rid of them, if the Prince settle
upon their shoulders! Consider, how many hungry
Scots gape after this *gude land*, who, with those of
other nations, must be satisfied out of the purses of
our own, whilst those that are their leaders will be
gratified with this, that, and the other mans lands and
and possessions. ---- Lastly, the Princes consideration
with the Scots, and our *English* presbyters (were there
no other reason), might be enough to terrify any inge-
geniously

been proclaimed by the Marquis of Or-
monde,

‘ niouſly-minded people from giving their aſſiſtance, be
‘ they royaliſts or not. For if the kirk be able to bind
‘ the Prince to hard conditions, and prove (like the ſons
‘ of *Zeruiah*) too ſtrong for him, ſo that his intereſt
‘ bow to theirs, then, inſtead of a regal (which is more
‘ tollerable) we muſt all ſtoop to the intollerable yoke
‘ of a preſbyterian tyranny, that will prove a plague
‘ upon the conſciences, bodies, and purſes of this free
‘ nation. The *Scots* by this means will effect their de-
‘ ſigne upon us, by ſtretching their Covenant-union
‘ to an equality of intereſt with us in our own affairs :
‘ and the *Engliſh* grandees of that party will ſeat them-
‘ ſelves again in the houſe, and exclude all others, or
‘ elſe a new party ſhall be called of perſons of their own
‘ faction ; ſo that if they ſhould carry the day, all the
‘ comfort we ſhall have by caſting off the preſent gover-
‘ nors, will be only that we ſhall have theſe furious
‘ jockies for our riders. Things, perhaps, ſhall be in
‘ the old *ſtatu quo*, as they were when the late King
‘ was at *Holdenby*, whoſe ſon muſt then lay his ſcepter
‘ at the foot-ſtool of the kirke, or elſe they will reſtore
‘ him by leiſure (as they did his father) into the exer-
‘ ciſe of royalty: by which means we ſhould be brought
‘ again, as far as ever we were, from a condition of ſet-
‘ tlement, and the commonwealth reduced to aſhes by
‘ endleſs combuſtions. On the other ſide, put the caſe
‘ the Prince have the better end of the ſtaffe of the preſ-
‘ byters (they relying upon his courteſie, as well as the
‘ reſt of the people), then, in caſe he carry the day,
‘ they, and all, are at his mercy, and no bar will be in

monde, who, having made peace with the
Irish

‘ the way to hinder him from an ascent unto an unlimited power. So that you plainly see, this present combination of royallists and presbyters (whichsoever of them be most prevalent) must of necessity put the nation in a hazard between *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, that we cannot chuse but fall into one of the pernicious gulphs, either of presbyterian or monarchical tyranny (o).’ The reader doubtless will expect to find what effect this controversy produced on the behaviour of the people, for whose satisfaction, as well as the respective interests of the King and the commonwealth, it was, as pretended, set on foot.

Bishop *Sanderfon* tells us, ‘ that very many men, known to be well affected to the King and his party, and reputed otherwise both learned and conscientious (not to mention the presbyterians, most of whom, truly for my own part, when we speak of learning and conscience, I hold to be very little considerable), have subscribed the engagement; who in the judgment of charity, we are to presume, would not so have done, if they had not been perswaded the words might be understood in some such qualified sense as might stand with the duty of allegiance to the King. ---- And it was strongly reported and believed that the King hath given way to the taking of the engagement, rather than that his good subjects should lose their estates for refusing the same. Which,’ adds he, ‘ as it is a clear evidence, that the King, and they who are about him, to advise him, do not so conceive of the words of the engagement, as if they did necessarily import an
 1
 abandoning

Irish rebels, had the best part of that kingdom

‘ abandoning the allegiance due to him: so ’tis, if true,
 ‘ a matter of great consideration towards the satisfaction
 ‘ of so many, as, out of that fear only, have scrupled
 ‘ the taking of it. For the doing of that cannot be rea-
 ‘ sonably thought to destroy the subjects allegiance,
 ‘ which the King, who expecteth allegiance from all his
 ‘ subjects, advisedly, and upon mature deliberation, al-
 ‘ loweth them to do (*p*).’

‘ The sectarian party,’ says Mr. *Baxter*, ‘ swallowed
 ‘ the engagement easily, and so did the Kings old cava-
 ‘ liers, so far as I was acquainted with them, or could
 ‘ hear of them (not heartily, no doubt, but they were
 ‘ very few of them sick of the disease call’d Tendernefs
 ‘ of Conscience, or Scrupulosity): but the presbyterians
 ‘ and the moderate episcopal men refused it (and, I be-
 ‘ lieve, so did the prelatical divines of the King’s party
 ‘ for the most part; though the gentlemen had greater
 ‘ necessities). Without this engagement no man must
 ‘ have the benefit of suing another at law (which kept
 ‘ men a little from contention, and would have marr’d
 ‘ the lawyers trade); nor must they have any master-
 ‘ ships in the universities, nor travel above so many
 ‘ miles from their houses, and more such penalties,
 ‘ which I remember not (so short-lived a commonwealth
 ‘ deserved no long remembrance). Mr. *Vines* and Dr.
 ‘ *Rainbow*, and many more, were hereupon put out of
 ‘ their headships in the universities, and Mr. *Sidrach*
 ‘ *Sympson*, and Mr. *Jo. Sadler*, and such others, put in;
 ‘ yea such a man as Mr. *Dell*, the chaplain of the army,
 ‘ who, I think, neither understood himself, nor was un-
 ‘ derstood

(*p*) *Nine*
Cases of
Conscience,
p. 94. 8vo.
 Lond. 1678.

kingdom under his subjection. Here
therefore,

‘derstood by others any farther than to be one who took
‘reason, sound doctrine, order and concord to be the in-
‘tolerable maladies of church and state, because they
‘were the greatest strangers to his mind. But poor
‘Dr. *Edward Reynolds* had the hardest measure; for
‘when he refused to take the Engagement, his place
‘was forfeited; and afterwards they drew him to take
‘it, in hopes to keep his place (which was no less than
‘the deanerie of *Christ* church), and then turned him
‘out of all, and offered his place to Mr. *Jos. Caryl*;
‘but he refusing it, it was conferr’d on Dr. *Owen*, to
‘whom it was continued from year to year (q).’

(q) Reliquiæ
Baxterianæ,
b. i. p. 64.
fol. Lond.
1696.

It is well known that Mr. afterwards Lord Chief Jus-
tic *Hale*, among the lawyers; and *Seth Ward*, who was
successively bishop of *Exeter* and *Sarum*; made no scruple
of submitting to this Engagement: which was, if
we will speak impartially, drawn up in terms the most
moderate, and the least exceptionable of any of the state
oaths to which the people had been accustomed. And,
to the honour of the then government, it must be also
said, that they admitted men to take it in their own
sense; as appears in the following passage: ‘The sub-
‘scriptions of the army to the Engagement were re-
‘turn’d by the general to the Parliament; who upon
‘the generals [*Fairfax*] subscribing of it, as one of the
‘council of state, in his own sense, the house voted,
‘that his taking of it in that manner, was taking of
‘it within the late act for subscribing of the Engage-
‘ment (r).’

(r) Memo-
rials, p. 442.

(L) By

therefore, by inclination, he chose to repair (L). *Ireland* however could afford him

(L) *By inclination he chose to repair to Ireland.*] *Milton* has justly observed, 'that *Charles I.* was ever friendly 'to the *Irish* papists (s).' This he fully makes appear by the cession, *Glamorgan's* transactions, and *Ormonde's* peace. And the young King had the same disposition towards them. This will be evident from the following extracts. Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, in a letter to the Marquis of *Ormonde*, written partly before and partly after the execution of *Charles*, says, 'By letters 'from *Holland*, I perceive, though some (as the Lord 'Colepepper, Lord *Percy*, and Mr. *Long*, by directions, it 'is conceived, from *Paris*) labour with Prince *Charles* 'to go for *Scotland*: yet his Highness's own inclinations 'and most others of the council about him are of opinion, that he go rather for *Ireland*, if your excellency 'shall settle a happy peace in that kingdom. — By a 'letter from the *Hague* of the 9th present, I am assured 'by a very credible hand, that P. *Charles* had then contracted with some *Dutchmen* of *Rotterdam* to send immediately two ships of 200 tuns apiece into *Ireland*, 'laden with corn and cloaths for soldiers, as well for 'the provision of the fleet as for the public benefit of 'that kingdom. — P. *Charles* is in *Holland* still, and 'I hear will take no resolution for his removing from 'thence, till he shall receive letters from *Ireland* in what 'condition you are there (t).' — Lord *Byron*, in a letter to *Ormonde*, dated, *Hague*, *March* 30, 1649, N. S. writes, 'The King himself is resolutely bent for *Ireland*, and is only stayed here for want of money, 'which

(s) *Iconoclastes*, 2d edit. p. 50. 4to. Lond. 1756.

(t) *Ormonde's State Papers*, by Carte, vol. i. p. 213, 215, 8vo. Lond. 1739.

him no refuge. For notwithstanding the endeavours of *Ormonde* and his confederates,

‘ which his brother the Prince of *Orange* (I doubt) cannot, and the states say they will not, furnish him with
 ‘ unless he go into *Scotland* and take the Covenant: that
 ‘ is the plain *English* of it, tho’ they speak it not openly. The Princess Dowager of *Orange* is drawn into
 ‘ this cabal on another score; for she is made believe
 ‘ the King shall marry her daughter, if he comply with
 ‘ the *Scots* in their desires; and my Lord *Percy* is the
 ‘ chief agent in this business, both upon the promises he hath of establishing his own fortune in case
 ‘ he can effect it, and upon a prudent consideration
 ‘ that *Ireland* will hardly brook so serpentine a nature
 ‘ as his is. Much prejudice the King receives by some
 ‘ honest but indiscreet persons of his own party, who,
 ‘ by their ranting and railing against the *Scots*, breed
 ‘ great jealousies and suspicions in them. These humours (God be thanked) since my coming to town are
 ‘ well qualified; for I have been with them all generally, and have calmly urged the necessity of the
 ‘ Kings coming into *Ireland*, with such reasons as they
 ‘ seem to be convinced with, yet, I doubt, in their underground practices to stop that resolution, they are as active
 ‘ as ever. So much doth private interest sway them
 ‘ above any reason that can be given (u).’ Indeed the King’s inclination to *Ireland*, and indisposition to *Scotland*, was so great, that he made no scruple of publicly professing it in a memorial delivered by the lords of his Majesty’s council, to the lords deputies for the States General, *March* 29, 1649, N. S. In this memorial,
 ‘ after

(u) Id. p.
238.

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rates, it was in a good measure subdued by *Cromwell*, and at length entirely brought

after acknowledging the many favours the King had received from the States General since his residence in their dominions, and how acceptable their expressions of detestation for the murder of his father were to him — it proceeds to inform their lordships, ‘ how his Majesty in this conjuncture of his affairs intends to dispose of his royal person, and the reasons and grounds of such his intention ; and thereupon to desire their lordships advice and assistance, by which (with God’s blessing) he shall promise himself good success in his undertakings. ‘ We need not inform your lordships,’ continues the memorial, ‘ of the deplorable condition of his Majesty’s kingdom of *England*, where the hearts and affections of all loyal subjects are so depressed and kept under by the power and cruelty of those who murdered our late Sovereign, and who every day give fresh and bloody instances of their tyranny, and frighten men from their allegiance, that (for the present) no man can believe that miserable kingdom to be fit for his Majesty to trust his person in. In *Scotland*, it is true, his Majesty is proclaimed King, but with such limitations and restrictions against his exercise of his royal power, that (in truth) they have only given him the name and denied him the authority ; above five parts in six of the nobility and chief gentry of that kingdom being likewise excluded from their just rights and any part in the administration of public affairs ; so that as yet that kingdom cannot be thought sufficiently prepared for his Majesty’s reception. But his Majesty
‘ hopes,

brought under the subjection of the commonwealth of *England*. *Charles* was in
Jersey

‘ hopes, and doubts not, that there will be in a short
 ‘ time a right understanding and perfect union between
 ‘ all his Majesty’s subjects of that his kingdom, and a
 ‘ due submission and obedience from them to his Majesty : for his Majesty is resolved (and had never the
 ‘ least intention or purpose to the contrary) to preserve
 ‘ and maintain the government of church and state there
 ‘ as it is establish’d by the laws in that kingdom, without
 ‘ any alteration or violation on his part ; so that
 ‘ there can be no difference between his Majesty and his
 ‘ subjects of that his kingdom, except they shall endeavour and press his Majesty to alter the laws and government of his other kingdoms, which as it would
 ‘ be very unreasonable for his Majesty to desire without
 ‘ their own consents, so without such their consents it
 ‘ is not in his just power to do, if he should join and
 ‘ consent with his subjects of *Scotland* to that purpose ;
 ‘ and therefore (he is confident) when they have thoroughly weighed and consider’d what is good for his
 ‘ Majesty and themselves, they will acquiesce with the
 ‘ enjoying the laws and priviledges of that kingdom,
 ‘ without desiring to infringe or impose upon those of
 ‘ their brethren and neighbours. And if any persons
 ‘ have endeavoured to make impressions on your lordships, that the King hath or had any other intention or
 ‘ desires with reference to his subjects of *Scotland*, than
 ‘ what we have now expressed to your lordships, his Majesty desires you to give no credit to them, and assures
 ‘ you you shall always find him constant to these resolutions,

Jersey when his hopes of going to *Ireland* were thus disappointed. — But to shew his

‘ lutions, and especially that all ways and means which
 ‘ may tend to the advancement and propagation of the
 ‘ protestant religion shall be so heartily embraced by
 ‘ his Majesty, that the world shall have cause to believe
 ‘ him worthy of his title of Defender of the Faith, which
 ‘ he values as his greatest attribute.’

‘ This being the true condition of his Majesty’s two
 ‘ kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, and it being neces-
 ‘ sary for his Majesty to give life to the afflicted state of
 ‘ his affairs by his own activity and vigour, your lord-
 ‘ ships clearly discern that his other kingdom of *Ireland*
 ‘ is for the present fittest to receive his Majesty’s per-
 ‘ son ; and thither he intends with all convenient speed
 ‘ to transport himself, being thereunto earnestly advised,
 ‘ and with great importunity invited, by the kingdom of
 ‘ *Ireland*, and by the Marquis of *Ormonde* his Majesty’s
 ‘ lieutenant there ; by whose great wisdom a peace is
 ‘ there concluded, and thereby the King at this time pos-
 ‘ sels’d entirely of three parts of four of that his large and
 ‘ faithful kingdom, and of the command of good armies
 ‘ and a good fleet to be joined to his navy : and he hath
 ‘ reason to believe that *Dublin* and the few other places
 ‘ (who have submitted to the rebellious power in *Eng-*
 ‘ *land*) either are upon the knowledge of that odious
 ‘ paracide returned to their allegiance, or will be sud-
 ‘ denly reduced ; so that the affairs of that kingdom be-
 ‘ ing settled (which we hope will be in a short time)
 ‘ the King will be ready to go from thence into *Scot-*
 ‘ *land*, when his presence there shall be requisite. His
 ‘ Majesty

his resolution of maintaining his claim to
the

‘ Majesty holds it most agreeable to the good affection
‘ he hath and shall always bear to this state, and to the
‘ sense he hath of the obligations he hath received from
‘ it, before his going from hence, to propose or desire
‘ that any league formerly entered into between his fa-
‘ ther of blessed memory, or any other of his predecessors
‘ and this state, may be renewed ; which for his Majes-
‘ ty’s part he is very willing and desirous to do, and shall
‘ always constantly and inviolably observe the same :
‘ and if any larger concessions shall be desired from his
‘ Majesty which may advance the prosperity of this state,
‘ than have been heretofore granted by his predecessors,
‘ as soon as his Majesty shall be acquainted with such
‘ desires, he will manifest how much he values their af-
‘ fection and alliance. And his Majesty desires, upon
‘ this communication of his counsels and purposes to
‘ the lords the States-General, that he may receive their
‘ lordships advice and assistance for the better transport-
‘ ing himself into *Ireland* with honour and security ; and
‘ whatsoever assistance they shall give him thereunto,
‘ his Majesty will always acknowledge as the most sea-
‘ sonable testimony of their affection ; and as soon as
‘ he shall be informed of their willingness to gratify
‘ him herein, his Majesty will make such other particu-
‘ lar propositions by your lordships to them concerning
‘ *Ireland* and his other important affairs, as he doubts
‘ not will be for the advantage and benefit of this state,
‘ as well as for his Majesty’s present conveniency (*)’

(*) Id. p.
260.

Lord *Clarendon* has given the substance of this me-
morial, but has falsified it very materially ; as will be evi-
dent to every one who will give himself the trouble to
turn

the *English* throne, he caused a declaration

turn to the page referred to in the margin (y). Sir *Edward Nicolas*, in a letter to *Ormonde*, dated, *Havre de Grace*, *Ap.* 19, 1649, N. S. says, 'I received this day a copy of a memorial delivered by his Majesty's command to the States Deputies at the *Hague*, which I here enclosed send to your excellency; that by it you may perceive, that a principal reason why his Majesty hasteneth so soon into *Ireland* is, that his Majesty hath been thereunto advised, and with importunity invited by that kingdom and by your excellency. I know you invited the Prince thither, but now (being King) it seems to me very demonstrable by the articles, that that great change hath so much altered the case, as I much apprehend his Majesty's presence in *Ireland* (before it is better settled, or at least that your excellency be master of *Dublin*) will be very inconvenient, if not prejudicial to his affairs there, by rendring the *Irish* catholicks unreasonably importunate, if not mutinous, to get the King (as soon as he shall arrive in *Ireland*) to call a parliament there in the absence of the greatest part of the protestants, and to settle on them all the churches and benefices now in their hands (z).' —

(y) Vol.
v. p. 297.

The King continued in his resolution to go for *Ireland*; — but what through indolence and indigence, what through divisions in his council and quarrels among his adherents, he delayed it so long, that *Cromwell* had reduced the chief places of strength in that kingdom to the obedience of the commonwealth, and rendered it vain for his Majesty to think any more of it, or hope for assistance from it. — The knowledge of *Charles's*

(z) *Ormonde's Papers*, vol. i. p. 258.

ration to be issued, in which, in high terms,

disposition towards *Ireland* made impressions, we may well believe, to his disadvantage. In a letter, written by the *Scots* to his Majesty, whilst he was in *Jersey*, we find the following expressions: 'As we are much 'grieved to consider the many great inconveniences 'which accompany your Majesty's irresolution; so are 'we much more afflicted to think of the sad effects that 'may ensue, in case your Majesty should be induced to 'believe, that it can be safe for your Majesty to trust 'your person or affairs to the papists in *Ireland*; who, 'for their enmity to the reformed religion, and cruel 'murder of many thousand protestants in that kingdom, are long since become detestable to all your Majesty's subjects, who either fear God, honour your Majesty, or wish well to the peace of these kingdoms (a).' This description of the papists in *Ireland* is far enough from being too severe. They had massacred the protestants: they had formed a general council to carry on the war; and had put themselves, in a good measure, under the direction of the Pope's nuntio: nor were they to be prevailed with to submit to the royal authority, but by pardon and indemnity; by repeal of the best laws for the security of the protestant religion; by giving them a right to arm, and power to claim authority in parliament, in the army, and in the several departments of civil affairs (b); and were disposed to improve every advantage they possessed. How surprising then, that his Majesty should be inclined towards these people, and disposed to trust to them for his security and restoration to his other kingdoms? We may well judge he was pleased with the terms they had gotten,

(a) Id. p.
325.

(b) See the
Articles of
Peace between
Ormonde and
the Irish.
1648.

terms, he asserted his rights (M), and vowed revenge on those concerned in the death of his father. That he might be in some condition of executing his purposes,

then, and doubted not of being served by them without reserve. For people of a cruel, barbarous, and inhuman disposition, are fittest to bring about the designs of princes who like not the trammels of laws; nor will such scruple to domineer, to insult, to lord it over their fellow-subjects in the manner they think most acceptable to their masters. *Charles* might moreover possibly think, that the great obligations they had to his family, would attach them most firmly to his person and government.

(M) *He caused a declaration to be issued, in which he asserted his rights.*] This declaration is addressed to all his loving subjects of *England*, and dominions of *Wales*; and is said to have been published with the advice of his privy council.

It begins with taking notice ‘of the murder of his father; and then declares that he is firmly resolved, by the assistance of Almighty God, though he perished alone in the enterprize, to be a severe avenger of his innocent blood. — And we shall therein,’ continues he, ‘by all ways and means possible, endeavour to pursue and bring to their due punishment those bloody traitors, who were either actors or contrivers of that unparalleled and inhuman murder. And since it hath pleased God so to dispose, as by such an untimely martyrdom to deprive us of so good a father, and *England* of so gracious a King, we do further declare, that,

poses, he transported himself to *Breda*, where he treated with the commissioners of *Scotland*, and, submitting to terms, embarked

‘ by his death, the crown of *England*, with all privileges, rights, and preheminences belonging thereto, is, by a clear and undoubted right of succession, justly and lineally descended upon us, as next and immediate heir and successor thereunto, without any condition or limitation; without any intermission or claim; without any ceremony or solemnity whatsoever: and that by virtue thereof, we are now in right lawfully seized of the said crown, and ought, by the laws of God and that nation, to enjoy a royal power there, as well in church as commonwealth; to govern the people of that kingdom according to the antient and known laws; to maintain them in peace and justice; and to protect and defend them from the oppression of any usurped power whatsoever. And the people of that nation, by the like laws, owe unto us, and ought reciprocally to pay, duty and obedience, as unto their leige lord and sovereign. This royal right of ours is grounded upon so clear a title, is settled by such fundamental laws, confirmed by so many oaths of allegiance in all ages, is supported by such a long continued succession of our royal progenitors, and by such a constant submission of all the people, that the same can admit of no dispute: no act of our predecessors can debar us of it; no power on earth can justly take it from us; and by the undoubted laws of that nation, to oppose us, either in the claim or exercise thereof, is a treason of the highest degree (c).’

(c) Parliamentary
Hist. vol.
xix. p. 220.

After

embarked for that kingdom (N). Here he
met

After this, many kind words are bestowed on the body of the *English* nation; the usurped powers are described in the most odious terms; pardon is offered to all, except such as voted or acted in the murder of his father, and abundance more of those kinds of promises which distress dictates, and prosperity erases: promises which fools believe, and wise men laugh at. — The declaration is dated at *Castle-Elizabeth*, in the isle of *Jersey*, Oct. 31, 1649. The doctrine here laid down in the name of the King, was a very hopeful one, it must be confessed; and well fitted to conciliate the minds of men, who understood liberty (as many then admirably did), to his person and government! But such were not the subjects *Charles* wished for.

(N) *Submitting to terms, he embarked for Scotland.*] The *Scots* seem to have been much addicted to families. Oppression they disliked; but the oppressors they loved. Nothing could reconcile them to the former, or alienate them from the latter. The *Stuart* race had made sad work from time to time among them; but it never entered into their heads to shake off the yoke, by changing families, or establishing a commonwealth, which would have been, in the circumstances of their country, most beneficial; though it deprived the great men of the power of oppressing their vassals. They had got little benefit from *Charles I.* yet for him they involved themselves in broils with their best benefactors, the *English* Parliament. From *Charles II.* they reasonably could expect less; and yet they must have him for

met with very many mortifications, and
was

King, though war with a superior nation, and an all-victorious army, was the known consequence.

I have already observed, that the Prince of *Wales* was proclaimed King by the *Scottish* Parliament, and that they resolved to send a committee to invite him thither on certain conditions. The King was then at the *Hague*. Commissioners were appointed in consequence of the above resolution; who attended on his Majesty, but could not bring about what they were sent for. Take their transactions and success in their own words. —
 ‘ According to our additional instructions of the fifteenth of *March*,’ say they, ‘ finding that *James*
 ‘ *Grahame* [*Montrose*] was about the King, we did, by a
 ‘ paper of the twenty seventh of *March*, desire that he
 ‘ might be removed from his person and court, as one
 ‘ who had been deservedly forefaulted by the Parliament,
 ‘ and excommunicate by the kirk of this kingdom;
 ‘ which when we had pressed once and again, his Majesty returned this answer, that he was resolved to consider the whole that we had to propose, before he declared his resolution upon any part. Although we
 ‘ were sorry to receive this answer, yet being loath upon this ground to break off (laying that desire aside for the time) we did proceed, and in three propositions
 ‘ offerr’d to his Majesty the substance of these things
 ‘ which we were warranted by your lordships to demand.
 ‘ The first whereof was, That his Majesty would, by
 ‘ his oath under his hand and seal, allow the Covenant,
 ‘ and the Solemne League and Covenant, and oblige
 ‘ himself to prosecute the enemies thereof in his royal
 ‘ station.

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was obliged to submit to many restraints,
and

station. Secondly, that he would ratifie all acts of
Parliament enjoining the Solemn League and Cove-
nant, and for settling presbyterial government, direc-
tors of worship, confession of faith, and catechism, as
they are already approved by the General Assembly
and Parliament of *Scotland*, and would assent to acts
of Parliament, enjoining the same in *England*, and ob-
serve the same in his own practice and family, and ne-
ver make opposition thereto. Thirdly, That his Ma-
jesty would agree that matters civil should be deter-
mined by this and subsequent Parliaments of this
kingdome, and matters ecclesiastical by the General
Assemblies of this Church, as his royal father did for-
merly grant. These propositions were pressed with
the best reasons we could, both from the justice and
necessity of the matter, and from the advantage that
would arise to his Majesty's affairs upon satisfaction
given thereto, which for brevity we forbear to repeat.
Instead of an answer, his Majesty returned a paper,
containing these three queries, First, whether the pa-
pers already presented, did contain all that we had to
propose? Secondly, whether we had any power to re-
cede from any thing therein, or were bound to insist
thereupon in terms as they stood? Thirdly, whether
we had any propositions to make towards the advance-
ment of his service, for his restitution to his other
kingdoms, and bringing the murderers of his father to
justice? And considering that these queries were
moved of purpose to obstruct all agreement, and to
cause and increase jealousies and differences betwixt
his Majesty and us, we offered by conference to shew

and do many things, much contrary to his
real

‘ that these queries were materially answered in our pa-
 ‘ per of *April* 20, and therefore intreated his Majesty
 ‘ not to insist in these or the like, for the moving of
 ‘ them tended greatly to the prejudice of his own affairs
 ‘ at this time. But his Majesty finding that conference
 ‘ could not be so well transmitted to his counsell, he in-
 ‘ sisted on the same, so that we were necessitated to make
 ‘ it appear by writ, that they had been answered in that
 ‘ our former paper. As to the first we answered, that
 ‘ we were not to propose any further unless we were
 ‘ commanded by the Parliament or their committee; to
 ‘ the second, our desires proposed were so just and ne-
 ‘ cessary, for securing of religion and the peace of this
 ‘ kingdom, that we could not in reason recede from the
 ‘ matter contained in them, which being retained, we
 ‘ were not to stand with his Majesty upon words or
 ‘ terms. And to the third we replied, that the grant-
 ‘ ing of these desires, would make his Majestys good
 ‘ people do all for him as could be expected of faithful
 ‘ and loyal subjects to their gracious King; and parti-
 ‘ cularly would make them contribute their utmost en-
 ‘ deavours, that his Majesty might be restored to the
 ‘ possession of his just right of government of his other
 ‘ dominions. And when as yet his Majesty seemed not
 ‘ satisfied, and did especially resent, that in these an-
 ‘ swers nothing was exprest of our sense of the murder
 ‘ of his father, nor was any thing offered to bring the
 ‘ actors thereof to justice; we did by another paper
 ‘ clear our former answers, and did much regret, that
 ‘ our sense of that horrid fact against the life of our late
 ‘ Sovereign,

real inclinations; which, after all, being
but

‘ Sovereign, should be called in question; since the
‘ Parliament, by their commissioners at *London*, had
‘ declared to the world, how much they did abominate
‘ and detest the very design thereof: all which, with
‘ unanimous consent, was allowed, and approved in Par-
‘ liament. And finding that his Majesty did all this
‘ while defer to give a direct or positive answer to the
‘ propositions, we did by another paper of *May 11*,
‘ with all the freedom and faithfulness we could, press
‘ his answer, and did represent to him the great danger
‘ and disadvantage, which would inevitably ensue upon
‘ his delaying, or refusing, to give the satisfaction de-
‘ sired by that kingdom. Whereupon his Majesty gave
‘ us this paper of *May 29*. After consideration whereof,
‘ we did represent to his Majesty how grievous that
‘ answer was to us, and how unsatisfactory it would be
‘ to your lordships, and therefore forbearing to insist
‘ upon particulars, we entreated his Majesty to take
‘ the same again into consideration, to which his Ma-
‘ jesty was pleased only to return this general answer,
‘ by which your lordships may perceive his Majesty’s pur-
‘ pose of sending an express hither for your further sa-
‘ tisfaction (d).’

The indifference shewn by his Majesty to *Scotland*,
and the refusal to comply with its demands, arose, as I
before observed, from his hopes of *Ireland*; and I now add,
from his expectations from *Montrose*, to whom a commis-
sion soon after was granted to wage war in that kingdom on
the Covenanters, and bring them into a more compliable
temper.

(d) Pro-
ceedings of
the Commis-
sioners of the
Church and
Kingdom of
Scotland,
with his Ma-
jesty at the
Hague. E-
dinburgh,
printed by-
Evan Tyler,
16 49

but too visible to those whose power and
interest

temper. But *Charles* was out of luck in all his projects from these quarters; and therefore at *Breda* complied with what he had refused at the *Hague*, and even with much more, to the no small mortification of many of his followers. Lord *Byron*, in a letter to Major General *Daniel O'Neile*, dated, *Jersey, Feb. 7, 1649*, O. S. will explain the reason. 'One *Windram* was sent from *Scotland*,' says he, 'with commission to offer the King a solemn address from that kingdom of persons authorised to treat and conclude with him of some course for his restoration in *England*, and punishment of his fathers murderers; in case he would acknowledge this present convention to be a Parliament: which at the *Hague* he had refused to do. Hereupon the King, finding the council he had here (which consisted but of three persons, my Lord *Hopton*, and the two secretaries, *Nicholas* and *Long*) to be too few to consult upon so weighty a business, thought fit to call all the peers here present to the consultation; which were the Earl of *Cleveland*, Lord *Wentworth*, Lord *Wilmot*, Lord *Percy*, Lord *Gerrard*, and myself. It was generally thought fit, that the King should treat with the *Scots*: the only question was, whether he should treat with them as a Parliament, without which appellation they would not be treated with at all. Many reasons were alledged *pro & contra*; on the one side what dishonor and prejudice would follow upon the King's allowing that to be a Parliament, which was not called by his authority, and presumed to sit after his fathers death, and did still proceed so vigorously

interest he stood in need of, he condescended

‘ rously against his party ; on the other side, it was
 ‘ urged, that the *calling this a Parliament on the back side*
 ‘ *of a letter did not really and legally make it one*, and that
 ‘ real advantages were not to be lost for airy words and
 ‘ titles ; that both the King of *Spain* and other Princes
 ‘ had made no difficulty to give their rebellious subjects
 ‘ any titles they would demand, when they were grown
 ‘ too powerful to be punished by them, and when they
 ‘ had no other means left to reap advantages from them.
 ‘ For my own part, I was all this time a neuter, and
 ‘ resolved not to give my conclusive opinion till I knew
 ‘ the true state of *Ireland*, and what advice the King
 ‘ should receive from thence. Immediately upon this,
 ‘ after a most dangerous passage, Mr. *Seymour* arrived ;
 ‘ by whose discourse, as well as by the letters I received
 ‘ both from yourself and others, I was fixed in the opi-
 ‘ nion I before wavered in ; which was, that the King
 ‘ in the dangerous situation he was in should not *stick*
 ‘ *at words* to obtain a treaty with the *Scots*, and provided
 ‘ he could retrieve to himself the superindency of his af-
 ‘ fairs in *England* and *Ireland*, to condescend to any
 ‘ thing that concerned *Scotland* (e).’

The following propositions, with his Majesty’s assent, will give us the best idea of the conditions agreed on between him and the commissioners of *Scotland*.

‘ We [desire] that your Majesty shall sweare, sub-
 ‘ scribe, and seal the national Covenant of *Scotland*, and
 ‘ the Solemn League and Covenant of *Scotland*, *Eng-*
 ‘ *land*, and *Ireland*, in the words following to be sub-
 ‘ joined to both :’

I

‘ I Charles,

(e) Or-
monde’s Pa-
pers, vol. 1,
p. 338.

scended to practice the most shameful dissimulation

‘ I *Charles*, King of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, doe assure and declare by my solemne oath, in
 ‘ the presence of Almighty God the searcher of hearts,
 ‘ my allowance and approbation of the national Covenant, and of the Solemn League and Covenant above
 ‘ written; and faithfully oblige myself to prosecute the ends thereof in my station and calling; and that I for myself and successors shall
 ‘ consent and agree to all acts of Parliament enjoining
 ‘ the national Covenant, and the Solemn League and
 ‘ Covenant, and fully establishing presbyteriall government, the directory of worship, confession of faith,
 ‘ and catechisms, in the kingdom of *Scotland*; as they
 ‘ are approved by the general assembly of this kirk and
 ‘ Parliament of this kingdome; and that I shall give
 ‘ my royal assent to acts of Parliament, bills, ordinances
 ‘ past, or to be past in the houses of Parliament, enjoining the same in the rest of my dominions; and that I
 ‘ shall observe these in my own practice and family, and
 ‘ shall never make opposition to any of these, or endeavour any change thereof:’

‘ His Majesty doth consent to this whole proposition
 ‘ *in terminis*; and for performance thereof his Majesty
 ‘ doth declare in *verbo principis*, that so soon as he shall
 ‘ be desired by the Parliament and the general assembly,
 ‘ or by their commissioners, he shall solemnly swear,
 ‘ subscribe and seal the national Covenant of *Scotland*,
 ‘ and the Solemn League and Covenant of *Scotland*,
 ‘ *England*, and *Ireland*, in the words preceeding, sub-
 ‘ joined to both.’

‘ We

‘ We desire that your Majesty would acknowledge
 ‘ the authority of this and the former Parliaments, that
 ‘ has been since the time of your royal father, or his
 ‘ commissioners were present therein; and that your
 ‘ Majesty give such an allowance of the acts made in this
 ‘ and the three last immediately preceeding sessions of this
 ‘ current Parliament since the fourth of *January* 1649,
 ‘ as your Majesty’s royal father gave in 1641, unto the
 ‘ acts made in the session of Parliament 11th *June* 1640;
 ‘ and that your Majesty would consent and agree, that
 ‘ all matters civil would be determined by this and the
 ‘ subsequent Parliaments of this kingdome; and such
 ‘ as are or shall be authorized by them; and matters
 ‘ ecclesiastical, by the ensuing assemblies of this kirk,
 ‘ and such as are, or shall be authorized by them:’

‘ His Majesty doth consent to this whole proposition
 ‘ *in terminis.*’

‘ His Majesty having also received the proposition fol-
 ‘ lowing:’

‘ We desire, that your Majesty would recall and dis-
 ‘ claim all commissions issued forth for acting any thing
 ‘ by sea or land to the prejudice of the Covenant, or of
 ‘ this kingdome; or of any, who do or shall adhere to
 ‘ the Solemne League and Covenant, and to monarchical
 ‘ government, in any other of your Majesty’s dominions,
 ‘ and all other declarations made by any in your Majes-
 ‘ ty’s name or by you warranted against the *samen*; and
 ‘ further, that your Majesty would disallow, and dis-
 ‘ claime or declare null and void, all treaties or agree-
 ‘ ments whatsoever with the bloody rebels in *Ireland*;
 ‘ and to declare that Majesty would never allow nor
 ‘ permit any liberty of the popish religion in *Ireland*, or
 ‘ any other part of your Majesties dominions:’

‘ His Majesty doth consent to this whole proposition
 ‘ *in terminis.*’

‘ His

‘ His Majesty having received the proposition following :’

‘ We desire, that your Majesty would be resolved to swear at your coronation by and attour the oath of the Covenant aforesaid, the oath appointed by the 8th act of the first Parliament of your royal grandfather King *James VI.* and ratified thereafter by manie acts, and insert in the national Covenant, to be sworne by all Kings and Princes of *Scotland*, at their coronation ; and that your Majesty would then declare, that you will in matters civil follow the counsel of your Parliaments, and such as are or shall be authorized by them ; and in matters ecclesiastical by the counsel of the general assembly, and such as are or shall be authorized by them :’

‘ His Majesty doth consent to this whole proposition *in terminis (f).*’

(f) Thurler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 147. fol. Lond. 1742.

Such were the terms on which *Charles* was permitted to enter *Scotland* and possess the throne of his ancestors ! Terms hard, rigorous, and severe ! which there was little reason to expect that he would observe, and therefore should neither have been demanded, nor complied with. To think that a *Stuart*, whose house was always averse to the covenants, the churchmen, the assemblies, and the whole government ecclesiastical, would indeed pay a regard to them, was weak beyond imagination. The father of the young King had them in abhorrence : his counsellors were those who had been his father's ; and, had it not been for self-ends, he and they would have been glad to have rooted them out ; but the government was now in a good measure under the direction of ecclesiastics, which will at once account for the

simulation (o) that we any where read
of.

the absurdity of the supposition, and the intollerant spirit so very visible in the propositions. — On the other hand, one cannot but stand amazed at the daring assurance of those about the King, who could advise him to consent to terms which they knew he never would observe, and which the observation of must have terminated in the ruin of themselves and their friends. But necessity, dire necessity, was the excuse. The King knew not where to go: he had no sense of the obligations of truth; and cared not whom he deceived, or who were losers, provided he might accomplish his own ends.

(o) *He met with many mortifications, — and practised the most shameful dissimulation.*] ‘The King,’ says *Burnet*, ‘sailed home to *Scotland* in * some *Dutch* men of ‘war with which the Prince of *Orange* furnished him, ‘with all the stock of money and arms that his credit ‘could raise. That indeed would not have been very ‘great, if the Prince of *Orange* had not joined his own ‘to it. The Duke of *Hamilton* and the Earl of *Lauderdale* were suffered to go home with him: but soon ‘after his landing an order came to put them from him. ‘The King complained of this; but Duke *Hamilton* at ‘parting told him, he must prepare for things of a ‘harder digestion: he said, at present, he could do him ‘no service: the Marquis of *Argyle* was then in absolute credit: therefore he desired that he would study ‘to gain him, and give him no cause of jealousy on his ‘account. This King *Charles* told me himself, as a

* He landed in Scotland June 23, 1650.

of. This exposed him to many severe reproaches.

‘ part of Duke *Hamilton’s* character. The Duke of
 ‘ *Buckingham* took all the ways possible to gain Lord *Ar-*
 ‘ *gyle*, and the ministers: only his dissolute course of life
 ‘ was excessive scandalous; which to their great re-
 ‘ proach they connived at, because he advised the King
 ‘ to put himself wholly into their hands. The King
 ‘ wrought himself into as grave a deportment as he
 ‘ could: he heard many prayers and sermons, some of
 ‘ a great length. I remember in one fast day there were
 ‘ six sermons preached without intermission. I was
 ‘ there myself, and not a little weary of so tedious a ser-
 ‘ vice. The King was not allowed so much as to
 ‘ walk abroad on Sundays: and if at any time there
 ‘ had been any gaiety at court, such as dancing, or
 ‘ playing at cards, he was severely reproved for it.
 ‘ This was managed with so much rigour, and so little
 ‘ discretion, that it contributed not a little to beget in
 ‘ him an aversion to all sorts of strictness in religion.
 ‘ All that had acted on his fathers side, were ordered to
 ‘ keep at a great distance from him: and because the
 ‘ common people shewed some affection to the King,
 ‘ the crouds that pressed to see him were also kept off
 ‘ from coming about him (g).’

(g) Hist.
 of his own
 Times, vol.
 i. p. 53. fol.
 Lond. 1724.

But this was not all: — with uplifted hand he swore
 to the Covenant, in the words he had promised at
Breda; and refusing to publish a declaration agreeable
 to the minds of the ruling party, the following act was
 made by the commissioners of the general assembly at the
 West kirk at *Edinburgh*. — ‘ West kirk, Aug. 13,
 ‘ 1650.

reproaches. The army, however, which had been raised on his behalf, were animated

1650. The Commission of the General Assembly, considering that there may be just ground of stumbling, from the Kings Majesty's refusing to subscribe and emit the declaration, offerr'd to him by the Committee of Estates and the Commission of the General Assembly, concerning his former carriage and resolutions for the future, in reference to *the cause of God*, and the enemies and friends thereof; doth therefore declare, that this kirk and kingdom doth not own or espouse any *malignant* party, or quarrel or interest; but that they fight meerly upon their former grounds and principles, and in defence of the *cause of God*, and of the kingdom, as they have done these twelve years past: and therefore, as they disclaim all the sin and guilt of the King and his house, so they will not own him nor his interest, otherwise than with a *subordination* to God, and *so far as he owns and prosecutes the cause of God*, and disclaims his and his fathers opposition to the work of God, and to the Covenant; and likewise all the enemies thereof; and that they will, with convenient speed, take into consideration the papers lately sent unto them by *Oliver Cromwell*, and vindicate themselves from all the falshoods contained therein, especially in those things wherein the quarrel betwixt us and that party is mis-stated, as if we owned the late Kings proceedings, and were resolved to prosecute and maintain his present Majestys interest before and without acknowledgment of the sin of his house and former

mated with zeal. They viewed his and their cause, as the cause of God; and doubted

(b) Crook-
shank's Hist.
of the
Church of
Scotland,
vol. i. p. 41.
8vo. Lond.
1749.

' ways, and satisfaction to Gods people in both king-
' doms (b).'

This act produced its effects. *Charles* became now wholly submissive. The declaration he had refused, he signed and published; though it rendered him very contemptible to the understanding men of all parties. Some remarkable particulars in it, the reader will, perhaps, be glad to see. — It is dated at *Dumfermling*, Aug. 16, 1650. 'His Majesty, taking into consideration,' says the declaration, 'that merciful dispensation of Divine Providence, by which he hath been recovered out of the snare of evil counsel; and hath obtained so full persuasion and confidence of the loyalty of his people in *Scotland*, with whom he hath too long stood at a distance; and of the righteousness of their cause, as to join in one covenant with them, and to cast himself and his interest wholly upon God, — doth, in reference to his former deportments, and as to his resolutions for the future, declare as follows: Though his Majesty, as a dutiful son, be obliged to honour the memory of his royal father and have in estimation the person of his mother, yet doth he desire to be deeply humbled and afflicted in spirit before God, because of his fathers hearkning to and following evil counsels, and his opposition to the work of reformation, and to the solemn league and covenant, by which so much of the blood of the Lords people hath been shed in these kingdoms; and for the idolatry of his mother,

' the

doubted not of obtaining the victory over the *English* sectaries, who, under the command

the toleration whereof in the Kings house, as it was matter of great stumbling to all the protestant churches, so could it not but be an high provocation of him who is a jealous God, visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children: and albeit his Majesty might extenuate his former carriages and actions, in following of the advice, and walking in the way of those who are opposite to the Covenant and to the work of God, and might excuse his delaying to give satisfaction to the just and necessary desires of the kirk and kingdom of *Scotland*, from his education, and age, and evil counsel, and company; and from the strange and insolent proceedings of sectaries against his royal father, and in reference to religion and the antient government of the kingdom of *England*, to which he hath the undoubted right of succession; yet, knowing he hath to do with God, he doth ingenuously acknowledge all his own sins, and all the sins of his fathers house; craving pardon, and hoping for mercy and reconciliation, through the blood of *Jesus Christ*. And as he doth value the constant addresses that were made by his people to the throne of Grace on his behalf, when he stood in opposition to the work of God, as a singular testimony of long-suffering, patience, and mercy upon the Lords part, and loyalty upon theirs; so doth he hope, and shall take it as one of the greatest tokens of their love and affection to him and to his government, that they will continue in prayer and sup-

mand of *Cromwell*, had entered *Scotland*,
to prevent their own country's being
made

‘ plication for him, that the Lord, who spared and pre-
‘ served him to this day, notwithstanding all his own
‘ guiltiness, may be at peace with him, and give him to
‘ fear the Lord his God, and to serve him with a per-
‘ fect heart, and with a willing heart, all the days of his
‘ life. And his Majesty having, upon full perswasion of
‘ the justice and equity of all the heads and articles
‘ thereof, now sworn and subscribed the national Cove-
‘ nant of the kingdom of *Scotland*, and the Solemn
‘ League and Covenant of the three kingdoms of *Scot-*
‘ *land*, *England*, and *Ireland*, doth declare that he hath
‘ not sworn and subscribed these covenants, and entered
‘ into the oath of God with his people, upon any finis-
‘ ter intention and crooked design, for attaining his own
‘ ends; but, so far as human weakness will permit, in
‘ the truth and sincerity of his heart; and that he is
‘ firmly resolved, in the Lords strength, to adhere there-
‘ unto, and to prosecute to the utmost of his power all
‘ the ends thereof, in his station and calling, really,
‘ constantly, and sincerely all the days of his life. In
‘ order to which, he doth, in the first place, profess and
‘ declare, that he will have no enemies, but the ene-
‘ mies of the Covenant; and that he will have no friends,
‘ but the friends of the Covenant: and, therefore, as he
‘ doth now detest and abhor all popery, superstition and
‘ idolatry, together with prelacy, and all errors, heresy,
‘ schism, and profaneness, and resolves not to tolerate,
‘ much less allow, any of these in any part of his Majes-
‘ ties dominions; but to oppose himself thereto, and to
‘ endeavour

made the scene of a war, which seemed unavoidable. But the event shewed their hopes

endeavour the extirpation thereof to the utmost of his power ; so doth he, as a Christian, exhort, and, as a King, require, that all such of his subjects, who have stood in opposition to the Solemn League and Covenant, and work of reformation, upon pretence of kingly interest, or any other pretence whatsoever, to lay down their enmity against the cause and people of God, and cease to prefer the interest of man to the interest of God ; which hath been one of those things which hath occasioned many troubles and calamities in these kingdoms ; and, being insisted on, will be so far from establishing of the King's throne, that it will prove an idol of jealousy to provoke unto wrath him who is King of kings, and Lord of lords (i). —

The whole declaration is of a piece with what is here presented to view ; and will justly excite astonishment at the folly of those who drew it, as well as of the barefaced hypocrisy of him who submitted to expose it to the world as his own act. — It was treated as it deserved, by the Parliament of the commonwealth of *England* ; who caused it to be printed, and answered paragraph by paragraph. There is a spirit in their reply which will please all who have a sense of liberty. 'The dispensations of divine Providence,' say they, 'are indeed merciful, by which princes or governors are at any time really recovered out of the snare of evil counsel ; yet when this is done by the violence of an absolute necessity, it is seldom real or lasting ; and then the mercy of it is but little to the people ;

(i) Parliamentary History, vol. xix. p. 362.

hopes were ill-grounded. For at the battle

‘ who will taste the bitter fruit of such dissimulations;
 ‘ when it is too late. It seems that the King of *Scotland*
 ‘ can now profess to the world he hath been in the
 ‘ snare of evil counsel, &c. We do not deny but his
 ‘ former councils, as well as himself, have suffered a
 ‘ great change, through the merciful dispensation of di-
 ‘ vine Providence to this commonwealth, prospering so
 ‘ wonderfully our armies in *Ireland*, as to exclude him
 ‘ and his interest in a great measure from thence, and
 ‘ preserving this nation in peace within itself, to prevent
 ‘ any footing to be given him here; whereby he was
 ‘ reduced to the course he hath now taken, to say what
 ‘ the Parliament and kirk of *Scotland* shall put into his
 ‘ mouth, and tell him is fit for him and his affairs to
 ‘ declare, or else to lose all. And if *Scotland* do es-
 ‘ teem it so great a mercy, to have him reduced to this
 ‘ pure necessity of casting himself into their arms, we
 ‘ know to whom, under God, they owe the obligation;
 ‘ a blessing which, we confess, we do not envy them,
 ‘ and which, were we secured never to be partaker of
 ‘ with them, or by their means, we should not hinder
 ‘ them from the free and full enjoyment of; having, by
 ‘ sad experience, found what it is to have a King,
 ‘ though never so well beset in appearance with good
 ‘ men about him, or to trust to his repentances and pro-
 ‘ mises, oaths or declarations, how fair soever in shew,
 ‘ and how strong soever laid down in words. — The
 ‘ first testimony of the good of the new councils, into
 ‘ whose hands the *Scots* King hath cast himself, is, the
 ‘ repentance towards God which they advise him to
 ‘ make,

le of *Dunbar* they were totally routed,
with

make, in reference to his own sins, and the sins of his fathers house; a matter in itself truly praise-worthy, and the consequence whereof, in the words wherein it is express'd, doth in no small measure reach to the acknowledgement of the just hand of God upon his father and mother, in banishing of the one, and taking away the life of the other by the hand of justice; putting it into the hearts of those here, that remained faithful to their trust in Parliament, to cause his blood to be poured forth, by whose personal actions, authority, and commissions, so much of the blood of the Lords people hath been shed in the three nations, as this declaration itself acknowledges; and for which therefore we have reason to bless God, and admire his providence, that out of the mouth of the son there hath, in the sight of the whole world, been brought forth such a justification of the sentence passed and executed upon the father. But as to the manner of declaring this repentance, that is to say, with the qualifications therein allowed of; whereby, under the pretence of a dutiful son, he may still retain in memory his fathers actions of tyranny for his pattern; and, through the high estimation of his mother, have his ears still open to her counsels, as often as she can convey them to him: and as sensible he must be of his own and his own and his fathers enmity and opposition against the Lords people in the three nations; yet he must still be encouraged to persist in the same against those who are truly the Lords people, under the pretence of sectaries: these are such inconsisten-

with the loss of their baggage, artillery,
and

‘cies and haltings in so serious a work, that as it is
‘justly to be feared that God will not be well pleased
‘therewith, so neither will it have its expected effect
‘amongst men, who with ease may see through the
‘deceit and lameness of it, and will, with greater ab-
‘horrency, be aware of them and their designs that
‘strive to cover themselves with webs that will not
‘prove garments, but whose nakedness doth still ap-
‘pear. It is somewhat early days for him, who, by
‘reason of his education and age, and the counsel and
‘company hitherto about him, could not be much fur-
‘thered into the fight of the justice and equity of what
‘is contained in the covenants mentioned; presently,
‘that is to say in the space of almost twenty four hours,
‘to grow up into the full perswasion of the justice and
‘equity of all the heads and articles of those covenants,
‘and to be able to declare, that he hath not sworn nor
‘subscribed them upon any sinister intention and crooked
‘design for attaining his own ends; and with so fixed
‘a resolution to persist therein really, constantly, and
‘sincerely all the days of his life; when as the commis-
‘sioners of the general assembly, in their declaration,
‘dated the 13th of *August*, do say, that there may be
‘just grounds of stumbling from his refusing to emit this
‘declaration; and do tell him in so many words, that
‘they will not own him nor his interest, otherwise
‘than with a subordination to God, and in so far as he
‘owns and prosecutes the cause of God, and disclaims
‘his and his fathers opposition to the work of God, and
‘to the Covenant, and all the enemies thereof; and not-
‘withstanding

and ammunition. This we may well suppose

‘ withstanding all, he still persists in his refusal, with-
‘ drawing to *Dumferling*, whither the Marquis of *Ar-*
‘ *gyle* and Earl of *Lothian* are sent after to press him to
‘ subscribe; and in the mean time, overtures are made,
‘ under-hand, to our army, as if things might yet be
‘ made up in a fair way, and their King and they were
‘ not likely to agree. And on the 15th of *August*, a re-
‘ monstrance and supplication of the officers of the *Scots*
‘ army, by way of seconding the foresaid declaration of
‘ the committee of estates and commissioners of the
‘ general assembly, was presented to, and approv’d of by,
‘ the committee of estates; and on the 16th of the said
‘ *August*, the declaration so earnestly pressed upon him,
‘ or rather forcibly extorted from him, is subscribed and
‘ emitted by him. And now, in a moment, what a
‘ blessed and hopeful change is wrought upon this young
‘ King? How hearty is he become to the cause of God,
‘ and the work of reformation? And how readily doth
‘ he swallow down these bitter pills which are prepared
‘ for and urg’d upon him, as necessary to effect that des-
‘ perate cure under which his affairs lie? But who sees
‘ not the gross hypocrisy of this whole transaction, and
‘ the sandy and rotten foundation of all the resolutions
‘ flowing hereupon? As first, he that, on the 15th of
‘ *August*, hugg’d all his malignant and popish party in
‘ his bosom, and lodged them in the secret reserves of
‘ his favour and love as his best friends, can now, on the
‘ 16th, the day following, from a fulness of perswasion
‘ of the justice and equity of all the heads and articles
‘ of the Covenant, renounce and discard them in the
‘ fight

pose was matter of great joy to *Cromwell*
and

‘ fight of God and the world, and vow never to have
 ‘ any more to do with them, as old sinners, unless they,
 ‘ by his example, turn to be as good converts as him-
 ‘ self, and be able to personate and act the same part;
 ‘ and so, by virtue of the very Covenant itself, eat out
 ‘ and undermine those who conscientiously and honestly
 ‘ intend the ends of it. The sad experience whereof,
 ‘ was as well seen in the managing the whole business
 ‘ of the Duke of *Hamiltons* invasion, as in many of the
 ‘ then members in both houses; who never shewed more
 ‘ zeal for the Covenant, than when they found that
 ‘ thereby they could suppress and beat down the truly
 ‘ godly and honest party, as sectaries and enemies to
 ‘ monarchical government, and buoy up the sinking
 ‘ and lost reputations of the most engaged royalists and
 ‘ rotten-hearted apostates, under pretence that they
 ‘ were turned friends to the work of reformation, and
 ‘ for upholding the church interest. And if in this
 ‘ sense the *Scots* King will have no enemies, but the
 ‘ enemies of the Covenant; nor no friends but the
 ‘ friends of the Covenant, he makes but little change;
 ‘ for he hath the same friends and enemies he had be-
 ‘ fore, with this only difference, that by his and his par-
 ‘ ty’s becoming, in appearance, friends to the Covenant
 ‘ for a while, they have the opportunity at the last to
 ‘ make use of this engine, the better to undermine and
 ‘ oppose the true ends of the Covenant, than by a flat
 ‘ opposition to it: and, to obtain a crown, what dis-
 ‘ simulation is not thought lawful by politicians?
 ‘ Though a larger measure than what is held forth in
 ‘ this declaration cannot easily be instanced; and which
 ‘ therefore,

and his masters, and no less so, if we give credit to some historians, to the *Scots* King, who was then at *St. Johnstons*. Though *Cromwell* neglected not making use

‘ therefore, we doubt not but God, who is the searcher
 ‘ of the hearts and trier of the reins, will proceed further
 ‘ to discover in the face of the sun, and more severely
 ‘ judge in this new King of *Scots* and his house, than if
 ‘ he had dealt plainly with God and men, and held
 ‘ himself forth in his own colours. The little time
 ‘ which he hath been upon the stage having sufficiently
 ‘ laid him open what he is, a true inheritor of his fa-
 ‘ thers principles and counsels, wherein he may be traced
 ‘ all along; and even in this last action, wherein he hath
 ‘ trod in the steps of his father, as well as other his pre-
 ‘ decessors; who, whenever they found themselves in
 ‘ *Scotland* beset with the power of the kirk and state, did
 ‘ subscribe and emit whatever was press’d upon them,
 ‘ though they resolved to break all that ever was so done
 ‘ by them upon the first occasion.’ — In this strain
 the rest of the answer runs. I will give one extract
 more from it; which will shew the resolution of the Par-
 liament, and their defiance of the King. It relates to
 an act of oblivion offer’d by him in his declaration. —
 ‘ Touching the act of oblivion offered,’ say they, ‘ it is
 ‘ no doubt the effect of a great desire the King of *Scots*
 ‘ hath to receive that which he pretends unto in the go-
 ‘ vernment of *England*, an acknowledgment of his power
 ‘ to dispense such favours: But, in the mean time, we must
 ‘ observe who it is that makes this offer, a traitor to the Par-
 ‘ liament

use of his victory, the *Scots* were not disheartened. Different and adverse parties united in his Majesty's service against the common foe, and agreed to set the crown
on

‘liament and people of *England*, and who by his past actings
‘against them, hath rendered himself obnoxious to their
‘severest censures, from which we hold him no way
‘absolved by assumption or declaration of a *Scots* king-
‘ship. He who by law, and his guilt, stands incapable
‘of the meanest priviledge amongst us, doth he think
‘himself qualified to exercise the greatest? Shall the
‘malefactor be presumed to have power to give pardon
‘to his judge? Or do the *Scots* or their King imagine,
‘under pretence of an act of oblivion, to seduce *Eng-
‘land* to receive their laws from *Scotland*? The ob-
‘structors of real reformation we are as much against
‘as he or they can pretend to be, as by our acts and
‘actions appear; amongst which we reckon it not the
‘least, that that grand enemy to reformation, the fa-
‘ther of the now declarer, after his long and bloody
‘progress made in destruction and devastation of the in-
‘nocent people in the three nations (the guilt whereof
‘upon him being a truth so apparent, as both himself
‘and son, and our now enemies of *Scotland*, have been
‘forced to acknowledge) hath been, by our authority,
‘tried, adjudged, and executed for his notorious trea-
‘sons, tyrannies, and murders; whereof, whatever the
‘interpretation be given by the son of that murderer,
‘or other his partizans, old or new malignants, late
‘apostates, or detestable neutrals, who style the act of
‘justice, murder, with like truth, as those who call good,
‘evil;

on the head of their King. This was performed at *Scone*, *January* the first, one thousand six hundred and fifty, old style. Here the same (P) dissimulation was practised

‘evil; and evil, good; light, darkness; and darkness, light; we, for our parts, bless God for that opportunity put into our hands of offering that sacrifice to divine justice, towards vindication and cleansing of our land from that blood wherewith, by that murderer and his party, it was so miserably defiled (k).’ Men that speak in this strain, must have little apprehension of danger, or be greatly superior to the fear of it!

(k) Id. p.
364—380.

(P) *At the coronation at Scone, Charles practised the same dissimulation, and was obliged to hear things not most pleasing.*] The King, we see, scrupled not to say, or do, any thing that was thought requisite, by those about him, to accomplish his purposes. By his former professions, he had deceived a number of honest, ignorant zealots to risk and lose their lives in his quarrel at *Dunbar*: and by like professions, he attempted again to engage people in his behalf, and expose themselves to innumerable woes. For mankind are led by appearances, and deceived by sounds, which are insignificant and unmeaning in the mouth of the utterer. A fresh farce was now necessary, and his Majesty had a principal part assigned him in it. The particulars I shall give from unexceptionable authorities. ---- ‘The battle of *Dunbar*,’ says *Burnet*, ‘procured a great change in the counsels of *Scotland*, for by that time the honestest and better part of the clergy were, by the murder of the King,

CHARLES THE SECOND.

tised by *Charles*; and he was forced to hear things not most pleasing to Kings in general, or acceptable to himself in particular. — That the sovereign of right

King, and the other proceedings in *England*, filled with distaste and horror at them, and began to think how defective they had hitherto been in their duty to the King, and therefore resolved to adhere more faithfully to it in all time coming. Others of the church party did also see, that as *Cromwell* was setting up a commonwealth in *England*, so they found many of the forwarder amongst themselves very much inclined to it in *Scotland*. This divided them from the other violent party, and made them join more cordially with the King, and be willing to receive his other faithful servants to oppose the common enemy: therefore it was brought under debate, if the *act of classes*, that excluded them from trust, should not be rescinded, and all subjects allowed to enjoy their privileges, and suffered to resist the common enemy. After long debate, it was carried in the affirmative; yet none were to be received but upon particular applications and professions of retentance. The commission of the kirk, being also asked their opinions, declared that in such an exigency, when the enemy was master of all on the south of *Forth* and *Clyde*, all sensible persons might be raised for the defence of the country. This was called the Resolution of the General Assembly, and was ratified by the subsequent general assembly. But against this many ministers protested; and from

right was liable to controul; and, that the people had laws and liberties to defend; he was given very plainly to understand. At the same time, the iniquities

‘ from thence arose great heats and divisions among
 ‘ those of the kirkmen, who owned the public resolutions, and those who protested against them, the one
 ‘ being called Publick Resolutioners, and the other
 ‘ Protestors. And now all churches were full of pretended penitents; for every one that offered his service
 ‘ to the King, was received upon the publick profession
 ‘ of his repentance for his former malignancy, wherein
 ‘ all saw they were only doing it in compliance to the
 ‘ peremptory humour of that time (1).’ As to *Charles*
 himself, he again promised, covenanted, and swore all and every thing required from him. On receiving the news of *Dunbar*, he wrote a letter to the committee of estates, in which, in canting hypocritical terms, he consoles and encourages them. ‘ Wee cannot but acknowledge, that the stroake and tryall is very hard to
 ‘ be borne,’ says he, ‘ and would be impossible for us
 ‘ and yow, in human strength; but in the Lord’s we
 ‘ are bold and confident, whoe hath always defended
 ‘ this antient kingdom, and transmitted the government
 ‘ of it upon us from soe many worthy predecessors, whoe
 ‘ in the lyke difficulties have not fainted; and they had
 ‘ only the honor and civil liberties of the land to defend,
 ‘ but wee have with yow religion, the gospell, and the
 ‘ covenant, *against which hell shall not prevail*, much less
 ‘ a number of sectaries stirred up by it. We acknowledge,

(1) *Memoirs of Hamilton*, p. 424, fol. Lond. 1677.

ties of his father's house, and their breach of the Covenant, was brought to his remembrance: and humiliation for his own sins, and personal reformation,

'ledge, that what hath befallen is just from God for
'our sins, and those of our house and the whole land,
'and all the families in it have likewise helped to pull
'down the judgment, and to kindle this fierce wrath.
'We shall strive to be humbled, that the Lord may be
'appeased, and that he may returne to the thousands of
'his people, and comforte us accordinge to the days
'wee have beene afflicted, and the yeares we have seen
'evill (*m*). — On the day of his coronation, in answer
to a short introductory speech of Lord *Loudon's*, he
said, 'I do esteem the affections of my people, more
'than the crowns of many kingdoms; and shall be
'ready, by Gods assistance, to bestow my life in their
'defence, wishing to live no longer than I may see re-
'ligion and this kingdom flourish in all happiness (*n*).'
This was admirable! — On the same day he, 'kneeling
'and lifting up his right hand, did, in the presence of
'Almighty God, swear his approbation and allowance
'of the National Covenant, and the Solemn League and
'Covenant; and afterwards swore to observe and keep
'the Coronation oath administred unto him, which ex-
'pressly required the observation of the laws and consti-
'tutions of that realm, and the rooting out all hereticks
'and enemies of God, that should be convicted by the
'true kirk of God of the aforesaid crimes.' Lord *Clarendon* has been careful to suppress all these transactions
of

(*m*) *Thurloe's Papers*,
vol. i. p.
163.

(*n*) *Form and Order of the Coronation of Charles II. at Scone*,
apud *Phœnix*, vol. i.
p. 233. 8vo.
Lond. 1707.

on, were pressed upon him in a manner which will appear, at this time, very rude

his master. — I have said, in the text, that his Majesty was obliged at his coronation to hear some things not most pleasing to kings, or acceptable to himself in particular. These were contained in a sermon then preached by Mr. Robert Dowlas, minister at *Edinburgh*, moderator of the commission of the general assembly. He took for a text, *2 Kings*, xi. ver. 12, 17. *And he brought forth the king's son, and put the crown upon him, and gave him the testimony; and they made him king, and anointed him, and they clapt their hands, and said, God save the king. And Jehoiada made a covenant between the Lord, and the king, and the people, that they should be the Lord's people, between the king also and the people.* 'It is clear from this covenant,' said the preacher, 'that a king hath not absolute power to do what he pleaseth; he is tied to conditions by virtue of a covenant — There is a threefold limitation of the king's power. 1. In regard to subordination. There is a power above his, even Gods power, whom he is obliged to obey, and to whom he must give an account of his administration. 2. In regard of laws. A king is sworn at his coronation to rule according to the standing received laws of the kingdom. The laws he is sworn to, limit him, that he cannot do against them, without a sinful breach of this covenant between the king and the people. 3. In regard of government. The total government is not upon a king. He hath counsellors, a parliament, or estates in the land, who share in the burden of government. It was never the mind of

rude and insolent. But all this had an effect in raising an army again for the support

‘ those who received a king to rule them, to lay all
 ‘ their government upon him, to do what he pleaseth
 ‘ without controulment. There is no man able alone
 ‘ to govern all. — These men who have flattered
 ‘ kings to take unto them an absolute power to do what
 ‘ they please, have wronged kings and kingdoms. It
 ‘ had been good, that Kings of late had carried them-
 ‘ selves so, as this question of kings power might never
 ‘ have come in debate ; for they have been great losers
 ‘ thereby. Kings are very desirous to have things spoken
 ‘ and written to hold up their arbitrary and unlimited
 ‘ power ; but that way doth exceedingly wrong them.
 ‘ There is one [*Salmasius*], a learned man, I confess,
 ‘ who hath written a book for the maintenance of the
 ‘ absolute power of Kings, call’d, *Defensio Regia**,
 ‘ whereby he hath wrong’d himself in his reputation,
 ‘ and the King in his government. As for the fact of
 ‘ taking away the life of the late king (whatever was
 ‘ Gods justice in it) I do agree with him to condemn it,
 ‘ as a most unjust and horrid fact, upon their parts who
 ‘ did it : but when he cometh to speak to the power of
 ‘ kings, in giving to them an absolute and illimited
 ‘ power, urging the damnable maxim, *Quod libet licet*,
 ‘ he will have a king to do what he pleaseth *impune*, and
 ‘ without controulment ; in this I cannot but dissent

* He was hired to write this book by Charles II. for an hundred Jacobusses. Milton’s *Defensio pro populo Anglicano*, is an answer to it. See, concerning both these books, Toland’s *Life of Milton*, p. 82. 2d edit.

port of his rights, as they were called.
Of this his Majesty took the command;
and,

from him. In regard of subordination, some say, that
a king is countable to none but God: do what he
will, let God take order with it. This leadeth kings
to atheism, let them do what they please, and take God
in their own hand. In regard of laws, they teach no-
thing to kings but tyranny: and in regard of govern-
ment, they teach a king to take an arbitrary power to
himself, to what he pleaseth without controulment.
How dangerous this hath been to kings, is clear by
sad experience. Abuse of power, and arbitrary go-
vernment, hath been one of Gods great controversies
with our kings and predecessors: God in his justice,
because power hath been abused, hath thrown it out
of their hands: and I may confidently say, that Gods
controversy with the kings of the earth, is for their
arbitrary and tyrannical government. It is good for
our king to learn to be wise in time, and know,
that he receiveth this day a power to govern, but a
power limited by contract; and these conditions he is
bound by oath to stand to. Kings are deceived, who
think that the people are ordained for the king, and
not the king for the people. The scripture shew-
eth the contrary, *Rom. iii. 14. The king is the*
minister of God for the peoples good (o). All this was
very honest; and in point of real edification, beyond
any thing, perhaps, ever delivered on a like occasion.
The preacher, we may be assured, had no intentions of
making court, or views to preferment. Few will fol-
low the example!

(o) Id. p.
244.

and, being closely pressed by *Cromwell*,
set forward for *England*. Here he hoped
to

Charles, it may be supposed from his education,
could not be much delighted with these instructions.
There is no doubt, what follows did not less please
him. — ‘ There are many sins upon our King and
‘ his family. Sin will make the surest crown, that ever
‘ men set on, to totter. The sins of former kings have
‘ made this a tottering crown. I shall not insist here,
‘ seeing there hath been a solemn day of humiliation
‘ through the land, on *Thursday* last, for the sins of the
‘ royal family. I wish the Lord may bless it; and de-
‘ sire the King may be truly humbled for his own sins,
‘ and the sins of his fathers house, which have been
‘ great. Beware of putting on these sins with the
‘ crown; for if you put them on, all the well-wishers
‘ to a king in the three kingdoms, will not be able to
‘ hold on the crown, and keep it from tottering; yea,
‘ from falling. Lord, take away the controversy
‘ with the royal family, that the crown may be fastened
‘ sure on the Kings head, without falling or totter-
‘ ing (p). — A king should reform his own life,
‘ that he may be a pattern of godliness to others; and
‘ to this he is tied by the covenants. ----- A king
‘ should not follow *Machiavel* his counsel, who requireth
‘ not that a prince should be truly religious, but faith
‘ that a shadow of it, and external simulation are suffi-
‘ cient: a devilish council, and it is just with God to
‘ bring a king to the shadow of a kingdom, who hath
‘ but the shadow of religion. We know that dissem-
‘ bling kings have been punished of God; and let our
‘ king

(p) Id. p.
236.

to be joined by great numbers. But he was deceived. However, he continued his march to *Worcester*; where, being overtaken

‘ king know, that no king but a religious king can
 ‘ please God. ---- It is earnestly to be wished that our
 ‘ kings heart may be tender, and be truly humbled be-
 ‘ fore the Lord for the sins of his fathers house, and of
 ‘ the land, and for the many evils that are upon that fa-
 ‘ mily, and upon the kingdom (q).’ ---- In the close, (q) Id. p.
 Mr. *Dowglas* gives his Majesty ‘ a warning example,’ 242.
 as he calls it, ‘ in the recent memory of his grandfather
 ‘ King *James*. He happened,’ continues he, ‘ to be
 ‘ very young, in a time full of difficulties; yet there
 ‘ was a godly party in the land, who did put the crown
 ‘ upon his head. And when he came to some years,
 ‘ he and his people enter’d in a covenant with God :
 ‘ he was much commended by godly and faithful men,
 ‘ comparing him to young *Josiah* standing at the altar,
 ‘ renewing a covenant with God. And he himself did
 ‘ thank God that he was born in a reformed kirk, bet-
 ‘ ter reformed than *England*, for they retained many po-
 ‘ pish ceremonies; yea better reformed than *Geneva*,
 ‘ for they kept some holy-days: charging his people to
 ‘ be constant, and promising himself to continue in that
 ‘ reformation, and to maintain the same. Notwith-
 ‘ standing all this, he made a foul defection: he re-
 ‘ membered not the kindness of them who had held the
 ‘ crown upon his head; yea, he persecuted faithful
 ‘ ministers, for opposing that course of defection. He
 ‘ never rested till he had undone presbyterian govern-
 ‘ ment and kirk assemblies, setting up bishops, and
 H 3 ‘ bringing

overtaken by *Cromwell*, a battle ensued, which, in the opinion of his friends and his foes, seemed for ever to have put an end

‘ bringing in ceremonies, against which he had formerly given large testimony. In a word, he laid the foundation, whereupon his son, our late king, did build much mischief to religion all the days of his life.’

‘ Sir, I lay this example before you the rather, because it is so near you, that the guiltiness of the transgression lieth upon the throne and family, and it is one of the sins for which you professed humiliation very lately. Let it be laid to heart, take warning, requite not faithful mens kindness with persecution; yea, requite not the Lord so, who hath preserv’d you to this time, and is setting a crown upon your head. Requite not the Lord with apostacy and defection from a sworn covenant, but be stedfast in the covenant, as you would give testimony of your true humiliation for

(r) *Id.* p.
260.

‘ the defection of those that went before you (r).’ This was talking very plain indeed, and may be thought to favour much of rudeness and ill-breeding. But such was the manner of the age and nation. Court preachers have much improved since. They consider the presence: they bear in mind the rank of the audience: they remember from whom preferment comes, and endeavour to recommend themselves unto them. In short, they study to find out acceptable words, and are careful to avoid giving any offence. Whether this, or the plain blunt manner of Mr. *Dowglas*, tends most to give a good opinion of the preacher, and of his belief of the

end to his hopes of possessing the throne (Q) of his fathers. This was on the third of
September,

the great truths of religion, is not very problematical. Certain it is, good men will be most pleased with the one; bad men with the other. The mean, however, will be chosen by sensible, virtuous, well-bred ecclesiastics.

(Q) *The battle of Worcester seemed for ever to have put an end to the King's hopes of possessing the throne.*] Of the battle of *Worcester* I have elsewhere spoken (s); suffice it here to say, it was decisive. This filled the royalists with fear and despair. All, in their opinion, was lost; and *Charles* was doomed to beg in exile, unless the Pope interposed in his behalf with the princes of his communion. This was the opinion of the Marquis of *Ormonde*. His letter to Lord *Clanricarde*, on this occasion, will more fully explain it. 'Whilst
' others,' says he, 'entertain you with more particulars
' of this great blow, I cannot forbear to acquaint you
' with those circumstances, that to me makes it appear
' more despairingly, and conclusive to all our hopes,
' than perhaps is apprehended by some. Be pleased to
' consider, when it may again be reasonably hoped to
' have a King of *England* at the head of 20,000 of his
' own subjects in the heart of *Eggland*, and to have the
' rebels at the same time employed with two other armies, the one in *Ireland*, the other in *Scotland*; whether ever such as have professed themselves ready to rise
' upon a much weaker countenance, and have failed
' upon this, will be relied on by any foreigner; or when
' it can be hoped, that foreign princes will be so much

(s) Historical and Critical Account of the Life of Oliver Cromwell, p. 248.

September, one thousand six hundred and fifty one. Many prisoners were taken on this

‘ at one amongst themselves, and so generous as to assist
 ‘ our King with such an army : and if they were, will
 ‘ they not find the rebels much more strong by the conquest of *Ireland* and *Scotland*, and much more experienced in the ways of rule and government ? and will
 ‘ not the exceptions taken at the Kings coming with a
 ‘ *Scottish* power be more obviously taken up against any
 ‘ foreigner, of what nation or religion soever, by those
 ‘ that are weary of hazards, and indulgent to their ease, pleasure and profit ? More of these questions might
 ‘ be asked than I take pleasure to find out : and that it
 ‘ may appear I seek not these to justify my slackening
 ‘ of my duty to my King, but to be clear in the discharge of my thoughts to you, to whom I have an inseparable friendship, I will give you my conceptions
 ‘ of the remaining way to be taken by the King. It is
 ‘ clear to me, that there is neither power nor affection
 ‘ strong enough in any of his own subjects (at least both cannot be found in any) excluding the rebels party,
 ‘ to raise his cause to a possibility of being disputed ; it
 ‘ must follow, that foreign assistance must be sought, or
 ‘ else the cause for the present deserted and the rebels
 ‘ left at rest ; from which it may be expected emulations and ambitions will arise, from thence divisions,
 ‘ and out of them an occasion of setting the interest of
 ‘ the crown on foot again. This I take to be a remote,
 ‘ lazy speculation, and very near lying in the dirt, and
 ‘ crying God help. God often blesses very improbable
 ‘ endeavours, but I find not where he promises, or when
 he

this occasion, who had no reason, a few
excepted,

‘ he hath given success to flat idleness, unless contempt
‘ or misery, which are the proper fruits of it, may
‘ be so called. I am therefore clear, that foreign help
‘ is immediately, and thus, to be sought. All the
‘ princes and states of christendom are at this instant
‘ full of their own projects, either to enlarge or preserve
‘ their dominions; and I cannot think of any one that
‘ is in plenty. To make application to them by several
‘ ministers, will be certainly tedious and fruitless: and
‘ if it were possible for the King to find means to send so
‘ many (as I see not whence he will have it), they will
‘ be look’d upon as so many beggars sent for gatherings;
‘ and at the last, as such, will be sent away with pitiful
‘ alms, which will be consumed in the voyages. There-
‘ fore to come shortly to what I would be at, wherein
‘ you may be concerned, I conceive some one must be
‘ found that hath power, if not with all, yet with most
‘ christian princes and states. Among the protestants
‘ there is none such; and amongst Roman-catholicks,
‘ it is visible the Pope has most of authority and per-
‘ suasion; and it shall be without scruple my advice, and
‘ that speedily, that fitting letters may be sent, and apt
‘ inducements proposed to him for his interposition, not
‘ only with all princes and states (t) — It is pity
‘ we had not the whole of this curious letter. But from
‘ this part of it, it is very evident how desperate the young
‘ King’s affairs appeared, at this time, in the eyes
‘ of the most knowing of his party. We may learn also
‘ the honesty of men of *Ormonde’s* character. They stick
‘ at nothing in order to bring about their designs. Apt
‘ inducements

(t) *Or-
monde’s Pa-
pers*, vol. i,
p. 458.

excepted, to complain of their treatment

inducements were to be proposed to the Pope for his interposition with princes and states in his Majesty's behalf. What inducements could these be but the admission of his authority in religious, at least, if not in civil matters, and receiving his laws? Or what apt inducement could catholic princes have to assist in the restoration of the King, but promises of dismembring the *British* dominions, paying tribute, or acting in the nature of a viceroy to him, or them, who furnished the means of conquering the three kingdoms? And what must have followed? — Every man of common sense can tell. Yet popery, despotism, vassalage, poverty, and every woe the human imagination can frame, were to be preferred to the exile of a Prince who had just shewn himself a mean hypocrite! Such sentiments have dishonest statesmen. But, in fact, it is not their masters these men mind, but themselves. Their own restoration was the object of the wishes of the banished counsellors of this Prince; and to obtain this, no sacrifice would have been thought too dear. They, by their conduct, had shewn themselves, for the most part, unfit for a land of freedom; and were willing their fellow subjects should be reduced to slaves. How contemptible must they have appeared! But to go on. — A commonwealth writer, after speaking of the advantages that had been gained from time to time by the Parliament, says, ‘add to these (omitting many others) the late memorable defeat at *Worcester*, attended with a series of many other wondrous successes: and it is so much the more observable, in regard of that miraculous power of God upon the hearts of the people, fastening them

ment from the conquerors. But a price
was

‘ them to the government, in a most notable time of
‘ of tryal, to the shameful confutation of this shame-
‘ less resident [*Macdonnel*, resident at the *Hague* for the
‘ *Scots* King] who had the impudence to affirm, that
‘ not the hundredth part, or (as he saith a little after)
‘ not the thousandth part of the people, but do cordially
‘ adhere to the royal interest, and passionately groan to
‘ be delivered from the prevailing party in *England*, as
‘ he is pleased to call the Parliament: whereas all the
‘ time of the *Scots* King being among us (which was
‘ about 28 days) courting and wooing the people with
‘ all manner of insinuations, intreaties and pretences,
‘ he was not owned by any considerable number of his
‘ old friends, or his new-reconciled enemies of the
‘ presbyterian party. — ’Tis true, *England* hath re-
‘ ceived many a sudden change, but never such a change
‘ as now. Heretofore, the poor people toil’d themselves,
‘ in shifting one tyrant out of the saddle to set up ano-
‘ ther; but now they have driven out, not only the ty-
‘ rant, but tyranny itself, and cashier’d not only a single
‘ king, but all kings for ever. It is an easy matter for
‘ particulars to supplant one another in government,
‘ because the interest stands deposited in a single hand;
‘ but when the whole frame of government is altered
‘ from what it was, and the interest of state lies dif-
‘ fused in the hands of the people, it is almost impos-
‘ sible to alter it again, without such a tract of time,
‘ as may produce new dispositions and opportunities for
‘ the effecting a new alteration. Besides, it is very
rarely

was set on the head of the King of
Scots;

(u) *Anglia
Liberata, or
the Rights
of the Peo-
ple of Eng-
land, p. 67.
4to. Lond.
1651.*

‘rarely observ’d in the whole course of history, that ever
‘kingly government was suddenly restored in any coun-
try, after it had been once cashier’d by the people (u).’
How uncertain is the science of politics! Men reason,
and judge, and determine concerning the possibility or
impossibility of events, as if they knew the causes of them,
or could determine their birth! How frequently are
they mistaken, even in their most rational conjectures,
in their most probable conclusions! And yet, how
proud, how presumptuous are, for the most part, these
sort of men! — There are general rules in this, as in
most other sciences; but the application of them to par-
ticular cases, is hazardous and insecure oftentimes. —
Charles depended much on the *English*; and doubted not
they would be glad to assist in shaking off their own yoke,
and place him on the throne. The commonwealth-
men judged, that people who had tasted the sweets
of liberty, the benefit of equal laws, and were
freed from the oppression of king and nobles, would
never again, willingly, return to their old state.
Charles, we see, was much mistaken on the present oc-
casion; nor were the commonwealthmen less so with
regard to his restoration, which was brought about with
the concurrence of the majority of the nation.

One truth, however, is to be depended on; that the
love and practice of virtue, will beget the love of liber-
ty; and the love of liberty, magnanimity, which will
render a nation superior to every enemy: and, on the
contrary, that vice will dispose men to submit to the
most infamous bondage; and render a people, in the
long

Scots (R); for whom the most diligent search was made. It was, however, fruitless.

long run, contemptible, spiritless, defenceless, and an easy prey to an invader.

(R) *A price was set on the head of the King of Scots.] Charles, on his entering England, had been declared, by the Parliament, a traitor, a rebel, and a public enemy to the commonwealth; and, on the 10th of September, the following proclamation was issued out, 'for the discovery and apprehending Charles Stuart, and other traitors, his adherents and abettors.'*

'Whereas Charles Stuart, son to the late tyrant, with divers of the English and Scots nation, have lately, in a traiterous and hostile manner, with an army, invaded this nation; which, by the blessing of God upon the forces of this commonwealth, have been defeated, and many of the chief actors therein slain and taken prisoners; but the said Charles Stuart hath escaped: For the speedy apprehending of such a malicious and dangerous traitor, to the peace of this commonwealth, the Parliament doth strictly charge and command all officers as well civil as military, and all other the good people of this nation, that they make diligent search and inquiry for the said Charles Stuart and his abettors and adherers in this invasion, and use their best endeavours for the discovery and arresting the bodies of them and every of them; and, being apprehended, to bring, or cause to be brought, forthwith, and without delay, in safe custody, before the parliament, or council of state, to be proceeded with and ordered as justice shall require. And if any person shall, knowingly, conceal the said
Charles

less. His Majesty escaped; and, after a great variety of adventures, arrived and remained a considerable time in *France* in

‘*Charles Stuart*, or any of his abettors or adherents, or
 ‘ shall not reveal the places of their abode or being, if it
 ‘ be in their power so to do, the Parliament doth de-
 ‘ clare, that they will hold them as partakers and abet-
 ‘ tors of their traiterous wicked practices and designs.
 ‘ And the Parliament doth further publish and declare,
 ‘ that whosoever shall apprehend the person of the said
 ‘ *Charles Stuart*, and shall bring, or cause him to be
 ‘ brought, to the Parliament, or council of state, shall
 ‘ have given and bestowed on him or them, as a reward
 ‘ for such service, the sum of one thousand pound.
 ‘ And all officers, civil and military, are required to be
 ‘ aiding and assisting unto such person or persons there-
 ‘ in (x).’ *Charles*, however, was in luck: for though
 the people of the country, generally speaking, were
 against him; he eluded his pursuers, and got safe into
France. The hazards, the dangers, the hardships he
 underwent, are pompously set out by *Clarendon* (y),
 which may be compared with the account preserved in
Whitlock, by such as are willing to be acquainted with
 them. His panegyrist has interested Providence in his pre-
 servation at this time; and assures us, ‘ that all may
 ‘ look upon the whole, as the inspiration and conduct of
 ‘ God Almighty, as a manifestation of his power and
 ‘ glory, and for the conviction of the whole party,
 ‘ which had sinned so grievously (z).’ This language,
 in that party, would have been called cant, or enthu-
 siasm.

(s) *The*

(x) Parli-
 ammentary
 History, vol.
 xx. p. 50.

(y) Vol.
 vi. p. 413.
 Whitlock,
 p. 512.

(z) Id. p.
 428.

in a very poor condition (s). He had
formerly,

(s) *The King escaped, and arrived in France in a very poor condition.*] ‘The King of *England*,’ says the Cardinal *de Retz*, ‘who had newly lost the battle of *Worcester*, arrived at *Paris* the very same day* on which ‘*Don Gabriel de Toledo* departed from it. My Lord ‘*Taffe* served him as lord chamberlain, valet de chambre, ‘clerk of the kitchen, and cup-bearer. His equipage ‘was answerable to his court, and he had not changed ‘his shirt since he left *England*. My Lord *Jermin* gave ‘him one of his at his arrival. The Queen his mother ‘had not money enough to give him wherewithall to ‘buy any for the next day. The Duke of *Orleans* went ‘to visit him as soon as he arrived, but it was not in my ‘power to oblige him to offer the King his nephew a ‘single penny, because, said he, a little is not worthy of ‘him, and much would afterwards me in too great an ‘expence (a).’ And a little afterwards, he adds, ‘it ‘was not in my power to oblige him to aid the King of ‘*England* with a thousand pistoles. I was ashamed of ‘it both upon his and my own account. I borrowed ‘1500—and I carried them to Lord *Taffe*, for the King ‘his master.’ The generosity of the great is many times truly admirable! They are unbounded in their expences to gratify their vices and follies; but the calls of humanity, and the ties of blood, are slighted and disregarded. Few men in the lower ranks of life would have treated an unfortunate nephew (for as unfortunate only, I presume, he could appear in the eye of his uncle) in so bad a manner. But to the great it is

* Oct. 16,
1651.

(a) *Me-
moirs*, vol.
ii. p. 119.
12mo, Lond.
1723.

formerly, it is true, sent ambassadors to
several

given to act, on occasion, meanly without diminution of character; and it is their privilege to do little things. The world however observes, remarks, comments, and treats them in a manner they are little aware of. For no characters are made more free with, by the independent part of society; though their flattery would make them believe they are held by all in high estimation. — What was the condition of his Majesty afterwards, we may learn from Lord *Clarendon*. ‘The insupportable necessities of the King,’ says he, ‘were now grown so notorious, that the *French* court was compelled to take notice of them; and thereupon, with some dry compliments for the smallness of the assignation in respect of the ill condition of their affairs, which indeed were not in any good posture, they settled an assignation of six thousand livres by the month upon the King, payable out of such a gabel; which being to begin six months after the King came thither, found too great a debt contracted to be easily satisfied out of such a monthly receipt, though it had been punctually complied with; which it never was. The Queen, at his Majesty’s first arrival, had declared, that she was not able to bear the expence of the Kings dyet, but that he must pay one half of the expence of her table, where both their Majesties eat, with the Duke of *York*, and the Princess *Henrietta* (which two were at the Queens charge, till the King came thither, but from that time the Duke of *York* was upon the Kings account), and the very first nights supper which the King eat with the Queen, begun the account; and a moiety thereof was charged

several princes to crave aid and assistance;
but,

to the King: so that the first money that was received for the King upon his grant, was entirely stopp'd by Sir *Harry Wood* the Queen's treasurer, for the discharge of his Majesty's part of the Queen's table (which expence was first satisfied, as often as money could be procured) and the rest for the payment of other debts contracted at his first coming, for cloaths and other necessaries, there being great care taken that nothing should be left to be distributed amongst his servants; the Marquis of *Ormonde* himself being compell'd to put himself in pension, with other gentlemen, at a pistole a week for his dyet, and to walk the streets on foot, which was no honourable custom in *Paris*; whilst the Lord *Fermyn* kept an excellent table for those who courted him, and had a coach of his own, and all other accommodations incident to the most full fortune; and if the King had the most urgent occasion for the use of only twenty pistoles, as sometimes he had, he could not find credit to borrow it, which he had often experiment of (b). Lord *Ormonde*, in a letter to the Marquis of *Clanricarde*, dated, *Louvre*, *March* $\frac{17}{27}$, 1652, tells him, that 'the plain truth why he could not send Sir *George Hamilton* with a dispatch to him, is, that the King could never set aside from the literal necessity of his own subsistence what might bear his charges, nor yet can; which is a sad reason why a cheaper means of conveyance is at last found out (c).' — *Charles* uneasy, undoubtedly, under such circumstances, made his court to *Mazarine*, and, according to *Voltaire*, demanded one of his nieces in marriage:

(b) Vol. vi.
P. 441.

(c) Or-
monde's Pa-
pers, vol. ii.
P. 461.

but, for the most part, they were coolly received:

riage: 'but the bad state of his affairs, which compell'd
' this Prince,' says he, 'to such a behaviour, also drew
' upon him a refusal; and the cardinal has even been
' suspected of a design to get the niece, which he
' refused to the King of *England*, married to the son of
' *Cromwell*. It is at least certain, that, when *Mazarine*
' afterwards perceived it became less difficult for
' *Charles II.* to regain his crown, he renewed the pro-
' posal of marriage, and was refused in his turn (d).'
It had been well if M. *Voltaire* had told us to what son
of *Cromwell*, *Mazarine* intended to have match'd this
niece. He should have known that both his sons were
married at the time he is talking of. — Truth is many
times wanting in this gentleman's writings. That there
was some treaty proposed on the part of the King, is
probable enough from the following passage in a letter
of intelligence, dated, *Cologne, June 19, 1655, N. S.*
preserved in *Thurloe*. 'There has been lately from
' *France* (as I am told by a good author) one Monsieur
' *Fontanelles*, sent very secretly by *Mazarine* to consult
' with R. C. and take it from me, at present they have
' some treaty in hand; my authors assure me of it, and
' that the principal part is for R. C. to marry one of the
' cardinals neices. Some more of this matter you may
' shortly hear by some other way. It is no new matter,
' for it was contrived in *Paris* before the late rising in
' *England* betwixt R. C. and *Mazarine*; but the little
' Queen [*Henrietta Maria*] gave interruption to it.
' Now it is freshly retreated (e).' This probably was
a trick

(d) Age of
Lewis XIV.
vol. i. p. 73,
2mo. Lond.
1753.

(e) Vol:
iii. p. 533.

received : ---- and though some money was
got,

a trick of *Mazarine's*, in order to have an opportunity of attaining a full knowledge of the affairs of the exiled Prince, whereby to regulate his conduct with regard to the Protector. He who before the treaty with that able politician had refused an alliance with the house of *Stuart*, doubtless would not in earnest solicit it, when he could not safely afford it an asylum in *France*, though so nearly related to his master. — The man, indeed, was ambitious of matching his family into the most noble houses ; nor did he think any too high to hope for a conjunction with : but he was at the same time timid, selfish, jealous, and, consequently, incapable of risking the displeasure of *Cromwell*, which such a marriage would necessarily have produced.

On the dissolution of the Parliament of the commonwealth of *England* by their own servant, the general of their armies, and his assumption of the supreme power, great court was made to him by the principal powers in *Europe*. *France* and *Spain* were rivals for his favour. The first, however, had the preference ; but it was, among other things, on condition of sending the King, and his brother the Duke of *York*, out of that kingdom. This was submitted to by *Mazarine*, though he knew well enough it would subject him to much reproach from his adversaries. — *Charles* therefore was obliged to prepare for his journey ; and after receiving two and forty thousand livres from the cardinal for his expences, and the promise of the continuation of his pension, went into *Germany* (f). This was in *July*, 1654. — The reception he had before met with

(f) *Thurloe*, vol. ii.
p. 399.

got, he himself (τ), if we believe Lord Clarendon, was very little the better for it.

France

in *France*, doubtless prepared him for every neglect, and every hardship from thence.

(τ) *He sent ambassadors, who were but ill received, &c.]* Let us hear *Bate*. ‘Dum ea Londini geruntur, non indormiebat suæ causæ Carolus secundus neque grassantibus per Angliam parricidis sibi defuit, sed omnem volvit lapidem, nihilque pro humanis viribus & ingenio reliquit intentatum, quò res collapsas repararet, publicam libertatem asfereret, simul ac, expiato parricidio, hereditatem suam avitam assequeretur. Principum ac regum exterorum invocatur fides; quibus æque singulis incumbit, pro vicaria supremi numinis autoritate, communique officio, asylum oppressis patrefacere; sed & regibus patrocinari præ cæteris mortaliū, tum contagionis metu, nè scilicet in proprios ipsorum subditos horrendum serperet rebellionis exemplar; ut & ipsi pares in angustias fortè coniecti, pares vicissim suppetias reportarent.

‘Ad Germaniæ imperatorem, nec minùs principes, ad Ottomanicum, & Moscoviæ magnum ducem, Poloniae, Daniæ, Sueciæque reges, ad Venetorum rempublicam, Belgarumque fœderatos ordines legati decernuntur. In Hispaniam (unde præcipua spes affulgebat) dominus Edwardus Hyde (qui scaccariæ olim, jam cancellariæ publicæ præest, & comitis Clarendonii titulo illustris, gravissimis regni negotiis sub rege cum omnium laude & admiratione perfungitur) cujus juvenili & vivido senile illud Cottingtoni ingenium animari poterat.

CHARLES THE SECOND.

117

France and Spain now paid the most servile court to *Cromwell*, who had assumed

‘ poterat. Inter Gallos, præter legatum peculiarem,
 ‘ reginam matrem, ducemque Eboracensem, sui rex
 ‘ ipse negotii procurator. Sed pro dolor ! Irrito ferè
 ‘ ubique successu ; quorundam suppetias nimia locorum
 ‘ intercapedine præpediente ; aliorum sive rei familiaris
 ‘ angustiis, sive seditione domestica, seu denique a vi-
 ‘ cinis periculo. Neminem pertingebat alienæ calami-
 ‘ tatis aut sensus aut misratio. Barbare se gessit aula
 ‘ Ottomanica, utpote quæ sordido exigui æris lucello
 ‘ corrupta, proxenetarum pseudo-senatus in manus tra-
 ‘ didit legatum Henricum Hide, meritis ornatissimum ;
 ‘ qui in Angliam delatus, ob fidem intemeratam, nullo
 ‘ legis avitæ obtentu, coram peristylio regio Londini
 ‘ decollatur. Gallia pollicitationibus prædives, ingen-
 ‘ tium suppetiarum spe vanâ lactat, quamdiu opis ali-
 ‘ quid à regis Angliæ subditis emungi potuit ; præser-
 ‘ tim à Jacobo duce Eboracense, qui Anglos & Hiber-
 ‘ nos Gallorum sub vexillis in Flandria ducens, com-
 ‘ plura & nobilissima edidit virtutis specimina : donec
 ‘ Dunkirkæ (quam obsessum tenebant Hispani) suble-
 ‘ vandæ gratiâ classem Gallicam sub Vendomii duce
 ‘ Blakius in fugam conjecerat : Dein Burdexium de
 ‘ pacis conditionibus ineundis Londinum amandârunt,
 ‘ dum parricidæ feciale bellum indicturum expectarent ;
 ‘ arctoque post fœdere inito, in sinu gaudebant regiam
 ‘ delusam majestatem, & rebellium furori haud exiguam
 ‘ adjectum sufflamen.

sumed to himself the Protectorate, in order to gain his friendship. The former obtained

‘ Hispanus indoluisse regicidio videbatur; sed Angliæ de controversiis non esse suum causatus intra oleas
‘ determinare, nec extra ditiones proprias volupe sibi
‘ erat alienis immisceri negotiis; cæterum suis in regibus
‘ onibus regi quicquid exhiberi benevolentiae poterat
‘ præsto foret.

‘ Tamen non ita multò post occiso Aschamo (quod
‘ brevi dicturus sum) primus hic regum orientem reipublicæ
‘ solem venerari jubet umbratilem legatum Don
‘ Alonso de Cardenas, parricidis omnia fausta precari,
‘ fartam tectam regna inter sua novamque rempublicam
‘ fidem servandam impetrare; & in Aschami nefarios
‘ occisores ipsum severè animadversurum pollicitur.

‘ Portugalliæ rex generosam prodit mentem (de quo
‘ infra) si vires animo respondissent. At enim quid faciat
‘ nuperrimus imperii proprii vindex, & in trepido
‘ solio vixdum bene collocatus? Certè ipsi vel integro
‘ & florenti res arctior quàm quæ tanti belli molem sustineat;
‘ nedum id temporis regem manu reducat, quo
‘ hinc Hispanum, aras et focos acerrime impugnantem,
‘ finibus patriis vix ægrè prohibeat; indè Belgam, extremo
‘ Oriente & universo qui terrarum orbem claudit
‘ oceano, sentiat infestum,

‘ Sueca primùm benevola, sed quæ tandem cum rebus
‘ mutavit animum. Fred. dux Holsatiæ & militum
‘ & pecunias in regis gratiam, naves insuper armæ
‘ inaque commodavit Montis-rosani comiti in Scotiam
‘ navigaturo. Dania, exhausto regii patris causâ æra-

rio,

obtained it, on condition, among other things,

rio, novisque mox bellis implicanda, nil ultra potuit. Poloniæ regi, quò minùs elargiretur de proprio, Cossaki rebelles, &, quæ pacem infidam reddiderant, circumvicinæ gentes obstiterunt. Scotici tamen subditi, ejus accolæ regionum, jussi ferunt auxilia. Muscoviæ item imperator, Dux Brandenburgensis, Moguntiæ Archiepiscopus, aliique Germaniæ principes, animos in regem sat pronos attestantur. Sed eheu! Quid ista ad classem adornandam? Quid at exercitum conscribendum? Quid ad arma, commeatum, impedimenta comparanda? Paulò plus forsan quàm ut legatorum in expensas & viaticum sufficerent, aulicorum etiam pauperiem parumper sublevarent (g).’ i. e. Whilst these things are transacting at *London*, *Charles II.* was not asleep, nor did he neglect his affairs, though the parricides prevailed in *England*; but moves every stone, and leaves nothing untried, for settling affairs; asserting public liberty, and, the parricide expiated, recovering the inheritance of his ancestors. He implores the protection of foreign kings and princes, who are all equally concerned, in virtue of the authority they derive from God, and their common duty to give sanctuary to the oppressed: but especially to kings, as well on account of kindred, as of fear of contagion, lest the horrid example of rebellion should spread itself among their own subjects, and that they themselves, in like circumstances, might get like assistance.

(g) *Elenchi Motuum*, pars secunda, p. 61—65. 8vo. Lond. 1663.

He sends ambassadors to the Emperor, and the princes of the Empire; to the *Othman* Sultan, to the Grand Duke of *Muscovy*; to the kings of *Poland*, *Denmark*,

things, of sending the King of *Scots*, and
his

and *Sweden*; to the republics of *Venice* and *Holland*. Sir *Edward Hyde* and Lord *Cottington* were dispatched into *Spain*, in expectation of obtaining considerable aid. In *France*, besides an ambassador, the Queen Mother, the Duke of *York*, and the King himself, solicited his affairs. But, alas! almost every where without success: the distance of place hindering the aid of some; and either the want of money, domestic quarrels, or foreign dangers, obstructing the assistance of others. None felt or commiserated others calamities. The *Ottoman* court barbarously, for a little money, delivered up the ambassador, *Henry Hyde*, an accomplished gentleman, into the hands of the pretended Parliament; who, being brought over to *England*, for his unblemished loyalty, without any pretence of antient law, was beheaded before the *Royal Exchange*, in *London*.

France, abounding in promises, deceived with false hopes of large supplies, so long as they could procure any assistance from the subjects of the King of *England*; especially from the Duke of *York*, who, commanding the *English* and the *Irish* that served the *French* in *Flanders*, had given many illustrious proofs of his valour; until *Blake* had beaten the *French* under the command of the Duke of *Vendosme*, who came to the relief of *Dunkirk*, then besieged by the *Spaniards*. Then they sent *Bordeaux* to treat of peace at *London*, whilst the parricides expected no less than a declaration of war: and afterwards, having entered into a strict alliance, they inwardly rejoiced that the King was
his

his brother the Duke of *York*, out of that kingdom.

deluded, and no small stop put to the fury of the rebels. — *Spain* seemed sorry for the murder of the king; but declined giving his judgment about things done out of his own dominions, though he was ready to shew his Majesty all kindness. However, not long after, *Ascham* being assassinated, he was the first king that commanded his ambassador, *Don Alonso de Cardenas*, to worship the rising sun of the commonwealth; wish the paricides all happiness: intreat the continuance of friendship between his kingdoms and the new commonwealth; and promised severely to punish the murderers of *Ascham*. — *Portugal* was very generous; but his power ill suited with his inclinations. Indeed, what could a prince, scarce steady on a late recovered throne, do? Had he been in full and undisturbed possession of his dominions, he could not engage in a war on the King's behalf; much less at this time, when he could hardly resist the attacks of the *Spaniards* at home, or of the *Dutch* in the *East Indies* and on the ocean. — *Sweden*, at first kind, changed with affairs. The Duke of *Holstein* supplied *Montrose*, for his expedition into *Scotland*, with men, money, ships, and arms, for the service of the King. *Denmark*, drained of money in supporting his Majesty's father, and being engaged in a new war, could do no more. The *Cossacks*, and neighbouring nations, who had rendered the peace uncertain, made the King of *Poland* sparing of his assistance: but the *Scottish* subjects, inhabitants of that country, as they were commanded, afforded aid. The Czar, the Electors of *Brandenburgh* and *Mentz*, with other German princes,

kingdom. His Majesty hereupon, by the
mediation

princes, shewed themselves affectionate to the King. But, alas! what was all that to the equipping of a fleet? to the raising of an army? to the providing of arms, provisions, carriages? Perhaps a little more than might defray the charges of ambassadors, and relieve the poverty of courtiers.

Bate was right in his sentiment. ‘For,’ says *Clarendon*, ‘when the King went to *Jersey* in order to his journey into *Ireland*, and at the same time that he sent the chancellor of the exchequer into *Spain*, he sent the Lord *Colepepper* into *Mosco*, to borrow money of that duke; and into *Poland* he sent Mr. *Crofts* upon the same errand. The former return’d whilst the King was in *Scotland*; and the latter about the time that his Majesty made his escape from *Worcester*. And both of them succeeded so well in their journey, that he who received least for his Majesty’s service, had above ten thousand pounds over and above the expence of their journeys. But, as if the King had been out of all possible danger to want money, the Lord *Fermyn* had sent an express into *Scotland*, as soon as he knew what success the Lord *Colepepper* had at *Mosco*, and found there were no less hopes from Mr. *Crofts*, and procured from the king (who could with more ease grant than deny) warrants under his hand to both those envoys, to pay the moneys they had received to several persons; whereof a considerable sum was made a present to the Queen, more to the Lord *Fermyn*, upon pretence of debts due to him, which

I

‘ were

mediation of the Duke of *Neuburg*, applied

‘ were not diminished by that receipt ; and all dispos’d
 ‘ of according to the modesty of the askers ; whereof
 ‘ Dr. *Goff* had eight hundred pounds for services he had
 ‘ performed, and, within few days after the receipt of
 ‘ it, changed his religion, and became one of the fathers
 ‘ of the oratory : so that, when the King return’d in
 ‘ all that distress to *Paris*, he never received five hun-
 ‘ dred pistoles from the proceed of both these embassies ;
 ‘ nor did any of those who were supplied by his bounty
 ‘ seem sensible of the obligation, or the more disposed
 ‘ to do him service upon their own expence ; of which
 ‘ the King was sensible enough, but resolv’d to bear that
 ‘ and more, rather than, by entring into any expostula-
 ‘ tion with those who were faulty, to give any trouble
 ‘ to the Queen (b).’ — It is very probable, that *Charles’s*
 courtiers were willing, as that class of men always are,
 to take care of themselves : but Lord *Clarendon’s* reflex-
 ions on the persons who received the money gotten by
 these envoys, are far enough from being just. We
 know Lord *Wentworth*, eldest son to the Earl of *Cleve-*
land, had an order from the King for five hundred
 pounds out of the money brought by Mr. *Crofts* from
Poland ; but his lordship was at this very time marching
 with the King towards *Worcester*, and had, probably,
 occasion enough for it (i). As to Lord *Jermyn*, what-
 ever were his circumstances, his situation, or connexi-
 ons ; how liberally soever he supplied himself from the
 King’s orders or the Queen’s bounty ; certain it is,
 that *Charles*, his master, was much obliged to him.

He

(b) Vol.
vi. p. 442.

(i) See
Parliamen-
tary History,
vol. xx. p. 4.

plied to the King of *Spain* (u), who conferred

(k) *Thurloe's Papers*,
vol. i. p.
690.

(l) *Legenda Lignea*, p.
150. 12mo.
Lond. 1653.

He received his Majesty's pension from the court of *France*; and remitted to *Cologne*, from thence, at one time, the sum of two millions of rixdollars (k). He kept up a pretty regular correspondence with him: informed him of things necessary for him to know; and gave him salutary advice. But as this was many times opposite to the sentiments and views of the chancellor of the exchequer; he, according to his manner, never has a good word for him. — If we may believe a certain writer, *Dr. Goff's* share of *Crofts'* money, was seven hundred and fifty pistoles only (l). — Lord *Clarendon* is seldom exact.

(u) *He applied himself to Spain, who conferred on him a pension.*] *Charles* left *Paris* in *June*, 1654; and passing through *Flanders*, unnoticed by the archduke, arrived at the *Spaw* in *Germany*. At length he settled at *Cologne*; where, understanding that *Cromwell* had broke with *Spain*, a memoir was presented, by the *Marquis of Ormonde*, to the *Duke of Newburg*, *June* 15, 1655, in order to engage him to his interest with his catholic majesty to enter into an alliance with the *Scottish* king. In this memoir it was represented, 'that it 'will not be hard to make it appear, that as the assistance which the King of *Spain* can easily give to the 'King of *Great Britain* may be very available to him towards his restoration; so that it will be in his Majesty's present power (how low soever his condition appears to be) to contribute more towards the defeating 'Cromwell's attempts in the *Indies*, and towards the assistance

ferred on him a pension very inadequate
to

‘ assistance of his catholic majesty against his other ene-
‘ mies, than in any other princes of Christendom.’ —
How extraordinary soever this might seem, it was at-
tempted to be proved in the following manner: ‘ Let
‘ the present success of the *English* fleet be what it will
‘ in the *West Indies*, if *Cromwell* be not able to send
‘ constant and full supplies thither, the design must come
‘ to nothing, how prosperous soever the first entrance
‘ upon it chance to be: and if the King of *Spain* will
‘ give that assistance and countenance to his Majesty,
‘ as will be very agreeable to the carrying on of his own
‘ affairs, his Majesty will be able to give *Cromwell* too
‘ much to do in the three kingdoms, to leave him at li-
‘ berty to attend those remote expeditions. Besides the
‘ power the King hath in the navy and amongst the
‘ seamen, and in this particular fleet under *Penn*, where
‘ (besides the common soldiers and mariners) there are
‘ many principal officers who have served his Majesty,
‘ and whose affections will dispose them to receive any
‘ orders from the King: all which will appear as soon
‘ as his Majesty hath the liberty of ports, to encourage
‘ the resort of ships and seamen to his service: which
‘ whensoever he shall have, *Cromwell* will hardly ven-
‘ ture the setting out any great fleets, well knowing
‘ how ill affected the seamen are to him. The advantage
‘ which his catholic majesty may receive by a conjunc-
‘ tion with the King of *Great Britain*, is not small with
‘ reference to the carrying on the war in *Flanders*,
‘ where he is likely to be most pressed, by confirm-
‘ ing

to his necessities, and the necessities of
those

ing and disposing the *Irish*, who are already in his
pay, heartily to his service, of whom there is at present
so great a jealousy, that he is almost without the
benefit of that body; and by drawing off all the
regiments of that nation, which at present serve the
French, and do not amount to less in number in *Catalonia*,
Italy, and *France* than ten thousand men, whereof there
will not remain a considerable number when they shall
once know that their King is but invited to make his
residence in *Flanders*, and hath the friendship of that
king; and of what moment the falling away of such a
strength may be to the disappointing all the designs of
this campaign, is easy to foresee; and as easy, when the
winter shall draw on, to transport those of his Majesty's
own subjects into *England* and *Ireland*, where they will meet
with such conjunction from his Majesty's faithful subjects,
as will keep *Cromwell* from molesting and disquieting his
neighbours. — The reputation of this friendship between
these two great kings, and the probability that the King of
England will be thereby speedily restored to the entire
possession of his kingdoms and dominions (which all men will
believe, who do understand the temper of the several people
thereof, and the detestation they have jointly of the present
tyranny), will keep the *Dutch* to a strict observation of
their treaty with his catholic majesty, and from joining
with his enemies upon the disadvantage his affairs may
seem to stand in, and will dispose even *France* itself
to a desire of peace upon moderate conditions, when
they

those about him. Promises were moreover added of powerful assistance towards the

‘they shall both consider what a friend his catholic majesty will be sure always to have of the King of England to punish any insolence that shall be now offered to him (m).’ Whatever strength there was in this memorial, it produced *Charles* and the Duke of York a pension of only nine thousand pounds sterling per annum (n); which being but badly paid, they must have been but in a poor condition. The following copy of a note of hand of his Majesty to *John Fotherly*, Esq; of the *Bury*, *Rickmersworth*, in the county of *Hertford*, will give the reader some idea of the straits he was reduced to in *Flanders*.

(m) Ormonde's Papers, vol. ii. p. 53.

(n) Eate, pars secunda, p. 193.

‘I doe acknowledge to have receaved the summe of one hundred pounds sterling, which I doe promis to repay as soon as I am able.’ *Bruges*.

21 Decem. 1657.

CHARLES R (o).

(o) In the possession of Henry Fotherly Whitfield Esq;

We are to remember, that *Charles's* pension from *France* was now at an end. The protection and promises of *Spain* gave the King spirits however, and made him talk much of what he would do. ‘*Charles Stuart*,’ says *Thurloe*, in a letter to *Montague*, dated, *March 25*, 1656, ‘is come into *Flanders*, and speaks much of the prizes he will take wherewith to maintain war against us (p).’ In another letter to the same, dated, *Ap. 28*, 1656, he tells him, ‘the pretended King is at *Bruges*, and hath been treating with the archduke: something

(p) Ormonde's Papers, vol. ii. p. 97.

‘he

the recovery of his dominions; and his party little doubted, any more than himself,

‘ he hath obtained, as liberty of their ports to exercise
 ‘ his piracy in, and a promise to be supplied with men
 ‘ and money to begin an invasion with. He on his part
 ‘ puts himself and his cause into the hands of the King
 ‘ of *Spain* to be managed by him, and hath declared
 ‘ himself in private to them to be a *Roman catholic*, as
 ‘ they call it. But the full conclusion of their treaty is
 ‘ deferred until the arrival of *Don John*, who will be
 ‘ there in a very few days, if he be not already come.’ —
Don John, natural son to the King of *Spain*, accordingly arrived, and *Charles* made a farther treaty with him, whereby he engaged to call all his subjects out of the *French* or any other service, and to draw them together under his own command in *Flanders*, for the assistance of *Spain*. ‘ Upon this treaty,’ says *Mr. Carte*, ‘ his Majesty was presently paid 300 crowns a month, a great supply to a prince who had not in a whole year before received 2000*l.* from all his friends in Eng-
 ‘ gland(*q*).’ — ‘ But the *Spaniards* wanted money,’ the same writer tells us; ‘ and the payments he was to receive from them were not so duly made as his own necessities and those of his servants required. The Marquis of *Ormonde* passed most of the winter at *Brussels*, soliciting this and other particulars of his Majesty’s affairs, being himself streightned, as many gentlemen who followed the Kings fortune were utterly at a loss for subsistence. One of these, a *Scotch* knight of the name of *Maxwell*, lodged in the house of a burgher of the town, who, being zealously affected to

(*q*) Life of
Ormonde,
 vol. ii. p.
 172. fol.
 Lond. 1736.

self, of receiving considerable succours from a power whose interest it was to distress

the King's cause, gave him his lodging and diet gratis. This seasonable hospitality and kindness in his distress could not on all occasions keep down the Scots gentlemen's passions: he quarrelled with his honest landlord, and swore he would never eat with him more. He kept his word for a whole day, fasting all that time; but it not agreeing over well with his constitution, he consulted with his friend the Marquis of Ormonde what he should do. Really, said the Marquis with great gravity, all the advice I can give in your case is, to go to your lodging; first eat your words, and then your supper (r). And that the circumstances of the English in Flanders were really very bad, is apparent from a letter of the Duke of York to the King his brother, dated, *Coukerk, Sept. 27*, in which he says, 'I presse Don John every day for something for the English that are come over, but can gett nothing yett but promises of monys for them, which shall not want solliciting till I gett it (s).' ---- Hyde also, in a letter to Ormonde, dated, *Brussels, Oct. 25, 1659*, writes as follows. 'Of the ease and plenty we are in, I need say little to you, when I tell you that we have not yet received a dollar since you went; which I hope you will cause to be pressed; and I pray remember your own particular; for your debts here make a great noise (t).' ---- On the eighth of November following, he repeats the complaint. 'I am sure,' says he, 'we are all without a dollar, and have been long: and they

(r) Id. p. 174.

(s) Thuroloze, vol. i. p. 668.

(t) Ormonde's Papers, vol. ii. p. 240.

distress the protector: but the *Spaniards* had so poor an opinion of his interest in *England*,

‘ who have neither money nor credit are like to keep a very cold Christmas; which must be our case, if we do not hear from you before that time (u).’ The distress still continued. On the sixth of *December*, therefore, he desired *Ormonde*, that ‘ if there was any money which might without noise be disposed, he would remember him, that he might pay those debts, and repair what is worn out: besides, I must tell you,’ adds he, ‘ my wife is ready to lie in, and all things wanting (x).’ In what an unhappy case is an exil’d prince! how many are his disappointments; how various his troubles! Yet the example of some does not deter others from risking a like fate. Seldom are princes excluded from their dominions, but for real faults: but the lust of power makes them overlook their danger; and they do not know themselves, till they suffer. *Charles* was an exile, indeed, more through his father’s crimes than his own: but tyranny was its foundation, and poverty and neglect the consequence. A prince excluded by the people, for whose good and benefit alone all rules are constituted, must and ought to submit to his lot. But very amazing is it that any should chuse to be partakers of his fate. This, we know, however, does many times happen. Such is the force of instill’d false-principles, party attachments, or prejudices, consciousness of guilt, or a false sense of honour! Many of *Charles*’s followers, it is true, could not with safety appear in *England*. They had been proscribed by the rulers there,

(u) Id. p.
259.

(x) Id. p.
289.

for

England, that they could never be induced, in reality, to hazard any thing in his favour (w).

We

for crimes real or supposed; and they had nothing to hope for, but from the restoration of their master. Others there were who might easily have remained in or returned to their native land, who chose to struggle with every difficulty, rather than submit to a power deemed by them usurped. As if it was of consequence who governed, if the public was taken care of, and liberty and property were secured! Strange madness and infatuation this!

(w) *Promises were given of powerful assistance, --- but the Spaniards would risk nothing in his favour.*] *Thurloe*, after writing that the full conclusion of the treaty was deferred till the coming of *Don John*, adds, ‘ In the mean time *Charles Stuart* on his part hath assured his friends here of great supplies and advantages by his conjunction with the *Spaniards*, and begs money of them for his support but for two months, and then he shall be able to answer their expectation and pursue his and their interest; he having, besides his own party, fully agreed with the levellers, who are also to fight under the flag of *Spain*, from whom they have got a great sum of money to raise forces here, a good part whereof is fallen through the goodness of God into our hands, so that I speak not at guess in this business. The person whom they had made their treasurer here, and in whose hands we found the money, is a seaman and a great confidant of *Lawson's* and those who de-

We are not to wonder, then, that all attempts made by his friends at home were ineffectual to his restoration. Many schemes,

(y) Ormonde's Papers, vol. ii. p. 103.

'serted their commands : and it is certain, that this money was given by the *Spaniard* upon this undertaking of *Sexby*, that the fleet with you should not revolt before they went from *Portsmouth* (y).' In another letter to *Montague*, dated *Aug. 28, 1656*, he says, 'I should have told you before of the great amity which is contracted between the King of *Spain* and *Charles Stuart*. *Charles* hath put himself into his hands, and is obliged in his endeavours for his restitution to be wholly guided by the King of *Spain*. *Charles* is now raising some regiments in *Flanders*, of the runnagade *Irish, English, and Scotch* to invade us with ; and they say we are to expect him before *December* (z).' -----

(z) Id. p. 113.

The hopes of an invasion from *Spain* roused the King's friends, who talked, and planned, and prepared to join with his Majesty on his landing. But they were quite disappointed. For *Don Alonso de Cardanas*, who had resided long in *England*, and was deemed to be well acquainted with its affairs, had infused such an opinion of the weakness of *Charles's* party there, that the *Spaniards* had no heart to make any push in his favour. *Cromwell*, we see, had a perfect knowledge of what was transacting in *Flanders* : and to know the designs of an enemy, is almost the same as to prevent them. Accordingly it happened, that, amidst the highest expectations of the royal party, the chief leaders of them were seized ;

schemes, it must be acknowledged, were laid, many plots and conspiracies formed by them; but they were all detected (x),
through

seized; and *Slingsby* and *Hewet*, with others, executed. *Sexby* died in prison. He was a man of sense and learning; and author of, *Killing no Murder*: though Lord *Clarendon* represents him as an illiterate person (a). ---- The *Spaniards* thought themselves well paid for *Charles's* pension, I doubt not, by alarming *Cromwell* with invasions from abroad, and insurrections at home. It answered an end to them. But how far men of humanity, as I would willingly suppose there may be some of that character amongst statesmen, can answer to themselves, for giving hopes they know to be in vain, and prospects illusory, to the ruin of well-meaning, zealous, ignorant party-men, is beyond my comprehension.

(a) See
Historical
and Critical
Account of
Cromwell,
p. 95, in the
note. See
Clarendon,
vol. vi. p.
640.

(x) *Many plots and conspiracies were formed, in order to bring about his restoration; but they were all detected.*] The friends of the *Stuarts*, and the enemies of *Cromwell*, united in their endeavours to place *Charles* on the throne. For this end, monies were advanced, places appointed, arms prepared. Some, who had served in the royal army, came from abroad, and were joined by the conspirators at home, who, by untimely risings, or ill-concerted measures, brought destruction to the cause they intended to advance. Nor was this all. They entered into schemes of assassinations; and cared not by what methods they accomplished their ends. *Ascham* and *Doriflaus*, agents for the commonwealth abroad, felt the effects of their fury; and it was not owing to a want of

through the vigilance of his enemies, or,
the

(b) See a True Account of the late bloody and inhuman Conspiracy against his Highness. 4to. Lond. 1654.

(c) Id. p. 11.

will that *Cromwell* escaped it (b). The protector publicly charged ‘*Charles Stuart, Ormonde, and Hide* with ‘consulting and advising the assassinating him (c).’ This was a high charge; but at the same time it possibly was a true one, as the reader will be inclined to judge from the following proclamation, dated, *Paris, May 3d, 1654, N. S.* — ‘*Charles the Second*, by the ‘grace of God, &c. — Whereas it is apparent to ‘all rational and unbiassed men throughout the world, ‘that a certain mechanic fellow, by name *Oliver Cromwell*, hath, by most wicked and accursed ways and ‘means, against all laws both divine and human (taking ‘opportunity through the late sad and unnatural wars ‘in our kingdoms), most tyrannically and traiterously ‘usurped the supream power over our said kingdoms, ‘to the enslaving and ruining the persons and estates of ‘the good people our free subjects therein, after he had ‘most inhumanly and barbarously butchered our dear ‘father, of sacred memory, his just and lawful sovereign: these are therefore in our name to give free ‘leave and liberty to any man whomsoever, within any ‘of our three kingdoms, by pistol, sword, or poison, ‘or by any other way or means whatsoever, to destroy ‘the life of the said *Oliver Cromwell*; wherein they will ‘do an act acceptable to God and good men, by cutting ‘so detestable a villain from the face of the earth: and ‘whosoever, whether soldier or other, shall be instrumental in so signal a piece of service, both to God, to ‘his King, and to his country, we do by these presents,
‘and

‘ and in the word and faith of a Christian king, promise,
‘ as a reward for his good service, to give to him and
‘ his heirs for ever 500*l. per annum*, free land, or the
‘ full sum in money, for which such a proportion may
‘ be purchased of the owners, and also the honour of
‘ knighthood to him and his heirs : and if he shall be a
‘ soldier of the army, we do also promise to give him a
‘ colonel’s place, and such honourable employment,
‘ wherein he may be capable of attaining to farther pre-
‘ ferment answerable to his merit. And because we
‘ know, that great numbers are involved in the same
‘ guilt with the said *Oliver*, more through his crafty en-
‘ snaring devices, than their own malicious or wilful
‘ inclinations ; we do therefore freely pardon and for-
‘ give all and every man whatsoever, for all and every
‘ thing by them done and committed against our person,
‘ crown, and dignity, or whatsoever hath been by them
‘ done or committed in the prosecution of the late wars,
‘ provided that they or any of them so guilty shall, within
‘ six days after their certain notice of *Cromwell’s* death,
‘ renounce and forsake their rebellious courses, and
‘ submit themselves to our mercy and clemency ; and
‘ also whosoever shall before that time, upon a just and
‘ fair opportunity, leave partaking with those wicked
‘ men, and declare for the just rights and priviledges of
‘ us and our people, his King and country, shall not
‘ only be pardoned for whatsoever is past, but receive a
‘ signal reward, and shall be by us employed and trusted
‘ with command answerable to his quality ; excepting

‘only

that the government of *England*, at least
till

(d) *Thur-*
lpe, vol. ii.
p. 248.

‘ only from this our pardon, *William Lenthall*, late
‘ speaker of the house of Commons, and *John Brad-*
‘ *shaw*, president of that bloody court, commonly called
‘ the High Court of Justice, and Sir *Arthur Hazelrigge*,
‘ and no other ; but all men else to enjoy the full bene-
‘ fit of this our free pardon, in case they perform the
‘ conditions above required (d).’ — The same thing
appears also highly probable from a letter of the Duke
of *York* to the King, dated, *Paris*, May 14, 1655, and
decyphered with the King’s own hand. ‘ There is a
‘ proposition,’ says he, ‘ that has been made to me,
‘ which is too long to put in a letter ; so that I will, as
‘ as short as I can, lett you know the heads of them.
‘ There are fower Roman-catholics, that have bound
‘ themselves in a solemn oath to kill *Cromwell*, and
‘ then to raise all the catholicks in the city and the
‘ army, which they pretend to be a number so consider-
‘ able, as may give a rise for your recovery, they being
‘ all warn’d to be ready for something that is to be done,
‘ without knowing what it is. They demand ten thou-
‘ sand livres in hand ; and when the business is ended,
‘ some recompence for themselves, according to their re-
‘ spective qualitys, and the same liberty for catholicks in
‘ *England* as the protestants have in *France*. I thought
‘ not fit to reject this proposition, but to acquaint you
‘ with it, becaus the first part of the designe seems to me to
‘ be better lay’d and resolved on, than any I have knowen of
‘ that kind ; and for the defects of the second it may be
‘ supplied by some desires you may have to join to it.
‘ If

till the death of *Cromwell*, which happened

‘ If you approve of it, one of the fower, intrusted by
 ‘ the rest, will repair to you, his charges being borne,
 ‘ and give you a full account of the whole. In the
 ‘ mean time, he desires, in his own name and theirs,
 ‘ that you would lett but one or two, whom you most
 ‘ trust, know it, and enjoyne them secrefye (e).’ It seems
 reasonable, I think, to conclude from this letter and pro-
 clamations, that the royal brothers were no strangers to
 assassination schemes, no disapprovers of them, and, con-
 sequently, that it was a vain thing for them or their ad-
 herents to complain that they were beset with spies,
 who gave notice of their designs, and rendered them
 abortive. For self-defence is undoubtedly allowable to
 princes, as well as private persons; and the encouraging
 of spies is, at least, as defensible as employing cut-throats.

— Those who are willing to know the particulars of
 the conspiracies formed in behalf of *Charles*, may con-
 sult the common historians, and the State Trials. I
 have said in the text, that they were all detected through
 the vigilance of his enemies, or the treachery of those
 about him. *Charles’s* court, as we have seen, was made
 up of necessitous persons; and among such, it is at no
 time difficult to find those who are ready to receive a
 bribe. — ‘ The council of state in *England*,’ says
Whitlock, ‘ had good intelligence of all the transactions
 ‘ of the Prince and of his council, which they procured
 ‘ by their money; whereof some of the Princes servants
 ‘ were needy, and would betray their master for it (f).’

— Sir *Edward Nicholas*, in a letter to the Marquis of
Ormonde,

(e) Id. vol.
 i. p. 666.

(f) Me-
 morials, p.
 430.

pened in *September*, one thousand six hundred

Ormonde, dated *Hague*, *Aug.* 15, 1651, N. S. writes as follows. ‘ By the inclosed extract out of the *Mercurius Politicus* sent me from *Paris*, your lordship may see with what prudence and secrecy the King’s business is by the great statesmen of the *Louvre* managed. I wish that was the only sad instance of the unskilful management and counsels there. — I have lately received a letter from very good hands from *England*, that a town and castle of importance shall be seized for the King, if they who give the intelligence may have order for it from the King or Duke of *York*; but they will not have any at the *Louvre* know of it: and truly considering what speedy intelligence is given from *Paris* of all affairs of the Kings which are transacted at the *Louvre*, even in the *Mercurius* in *England*, I cannot blame those who will not confide in any there, nor shall I ever be an instrument to bring any honest man in danger of communicating affairs with such futile persons (g).’

(g) *Ormonde’s Papers*, vol. 1, p. 418.

In another letter to the same, dated, *May* 30, 1651, N. S. he says, ‘ I have herein sent your excellency a list of some lords and gentlemen that are imprisoned or under restraint and trouble, upon Mr. *Cokes* treacherous discovery. I am now told, that he being a notorious presbyterian, and by them entrusted and employed from *England* (whereof I remember intimation was sent thence by honest men when the King was at *Fer-sey*, but nothing would be then credited against any prudent person of that faction), was by his Majesty at
‘ *Breda*,

dred fifty-eight, held him in contempt,
and

‘ *Breda*, by the counsel of the Duke of *Hamilton*, and
 ‘ others of the *Louvre* creatures, made acquainted with
 ‘ the designs and persons of his Majesty’s own party
 ‘ also; some of whom had him so suspected (as namely
 ‘ the Lord *Beaucamp*), as they forbore a long time to
 ‘ communicate any thing with him; insomuch that he
 ‘ wrote to Mr. *Long* a letter complaining that that lord
 ‘ was very slow and backward in the Kings business in
 ‘ *England*; which letter Mr. *Long* tells me he shewed in
 ‘ *Scotland* to the King. And yet afterwards by others
 ‘ importunity in *England* who had received great commen-
 ‘ dations of him from some credulous people of the Kings
 ‘ party there, it seems his lordship acquainted him with
 ‘ so much as it is like to cost him his life: and if your
 ‘ excellency observe the inclosed list, you will see there
 ‘ are therein very few presbyterians among those that
 ‘ *Coke* hath discovered: for the presbyterians in *Lan-*
 ‘ *cashire* were discovered by the papers that were inter-
 ‘ cepted by *Birkinhead* (*h*).’ The same gentleman, writ-
 ing to the Marquis from *Fersey*, Oct. 13, 1659, had
 then also intimated his suspicions that his master was
 betrayed. ‘ For my part,’ says he, ‘ I fear he is be-
 ‘ trayed in all he doth; for its impossible but that the re-
 ‘ bels should more apprehend their condition (being so
 ‘ abominable villains as they know themselves to be):
 ‘ but having sure and potent friends near the King, they
 ‘ value nothing that his Majesty can do (*i*).’ Thus
 watchful were the commonwealth governors to disap-
 point the designs of *Charles* and his adherents. The

(i) Id. p.
464.

(i) Or-
monde’s Pa-
pers, vol. i.
p. 322.

protector followed their example; and had always those, among the exiles, who were willing to inform him of the transactions of his adversary. In a letter of intelligence from *Paris*, dated, *May 22, 1654, N. S.* it is said, 'Here is one, you know, desires to go into *England*, yet disguised, and so to return, after one hour's conference with his Highness, wherein he says he will let him know more, than can be conveyed otherwise, for his service in the highest degree. You may move it if you think it fit. I presume he can give the greatest designs on foot with the King of *France* and *R. C (k).*' Mr. *Downing*, resident in *Holland*, in a letter to *Thurloe*, dated, *Hague, Oct. 1658, N. S.* says, 'As for *Charles Stuart* his having been in *Holland*, surely you had my memorial complaining thereof, which was even at the very time while he was in *Holland*, and at the very time I had an account from one *Killigrew* of his bed-chamber of every place where he was, and the time, with his stay and company, of which also I gave you an account in mine by the last post. He vowed that it was a journey of pleasure, and that none of the states general, nor any person of note of *Amsterdam* came to him; besides, I have perfectly gained *Tom Howard*, of *Howard*, of *Suffolk*, whose papers I sent (which yet he hath no knowledge of at all, or that I have any such things) and he assured me that it was a journey of pleasure; but withal he tells me, *Hen. Germin* is certainly gone into *France* upon some notable business; some think it is with propositions for a peace with *Spain* which the Lord *Germin* is to put forward; and some do conjecture, that this is the product of the visit which the cardinal

(k) *Thurloe*, vol. ii.
p. 276.

'dinal is said to have given to the little Queen' [*Henri-
rietta Maria*] 'upon the news of the death of the lord
 'protector, of which I gave you an account in a late
 'letter. — I think I can hardly pitch upon one a fitter
 'instrument than *Tom Howard*, he being master of the
 'horse to the princess royal and I shall endeavour to im-
 'prove him (l).' This Mr. *Howard* asked afterward (l) Id. vol.
 from *Downing* 1000 l. per annum (m) for further intelli- vii. p. 418.
 gence, as may reasonably be supposed. In an inter- (m) Id. p.
 cepted letter, dated, *London, June 22, 1654*, we have 445.
 what follows. 'I could wish that neither yourself nor
 'Luke, acquaint any with whome you keepe any cor-
 'respondence here; for it is hard to know in whome to
 'have confidence, considering the number of spies we
 'have there, who beare the outside of real cavaliers,
 'but do send all intelligence hither, and discover those
 'heere, who keepe any correspondance with that place.
 'Beside the number that are dispersed in that city, who
 'are no less than fifty or sixty, there are those about
 'him, whome we call the King of *Scots* (and such per-
 'haps as are neer his person), who send hither punctual
 'relation of his acts and intentions; otherwise such
 'things as have been suggested there, to be executed
 'here, had never been revealed; for the chief discove-
 'ry of this late plot [*Gerard's*] came from thence; and
 'some about him have their wives and children here,
 'who receive a reasonable allowance, under the notion
 'of a jointure (n).' The same complaint we find re- (n) Id. p.
 newed in another letter, written in the same month. 392.
 'You have yett more knaves about the King: find
 'them out. You do nothing but it is knowne here in ten
 'days; so that the King cannot be too private: to my
 'knowledge this is true; and if it were not so, he would
 'before

‘ before this have the private supply of a person very
 ‘ eminent and in a considerable way. ----- Keep things
 ‘ to yourself, and get from *Paris*, or else you will be
 ‘ betrayed (o).’

(o) Id. p.
 415.

His Majesty soon after left *Paris*; but he was not the less betrayed. For a slight inspection of *Thurloe's* papers is sufficient to satisfy us, that his motions were narrowly watched at *Cologne*, *Brussels*, and elsewhere: nor was there a scheme set on foot at any time in his favour, but his enemies had full intelligence of it. So able were the managers in *England*! So forcible is wisdom, aided by wealth, properly applied, in the affairs of nations. --- It must not be omitted, that the Parliament, who encouraged ingenuity, and sought out for men of genius, had a very honest advantage over their adversaries, in the skill of one of their decyphers. This was *Dr. Wallis*; who first found out the art of decyphering any letters written in cyphers, without having the keys of the cyphers. Hence it came to pass, that when the royal party had letters in cypher, and they fell into the hands of their enemies, they thoroughly understood what was contained in them, at least the most material parts: whereas the intercepted letters of the parliament partizans, written in the like manner, were wholly useless to the possessors, by reason of their ignorance in the art. The surprize the royalists were in when they first came to the knowledge of this, which was not till very near the time of the Restoration, will be best shewn by an extract or two of Chancellor *Hyde's* letters to *Dr. Barrick*. ‘ I am compelled,’ says he, in a letter dated, *Brussels*, Feb. 20, 1660, ‘ to enlarge this very long letter, by an unhappy information, which Secretary Ni-

‘ *colas*

' *colas* now gives me from Mr. *Baron* ; who sends to him
 ' to desire me to forbear writing any more in Mr. *Rum-*
 ' *bald's* cypher ; because, he says, the council of state
 ' hath gotten a copy of it ; which I cannot imagine ;
 ' since, as I am sure it hath never been out of my own
 ' hands, so there can be no such thing from hence ; and
 ' I cannot imagine, that he would be less careful there ;
 ' and it is very natural for them to give out such brags,
 ' as they do of their great skill in decyphering ; for
 ' which nobody needs to fear them, if they write care-
 ' fully in good cyphers (*p*). ' --- In another letter, dated,
March 8, he writes, ' I confess to you, as I am sure
 ' no copy could be gotten of any of my cyphers from
 ' hence ; so I did not think it probable, that they could
 ' be got on your side the water. But I was confident,
 ' till you tell me you believe it, that the devil himself
 ' cannot decypher a letter, that is well written, or find
 ' that 100 stands for Sir *H. Vane*. I have heard many
 ' of the pretenders to that skill, and have spoken with
 ' some of them, but have found them all to be mounte-
 ' banks : nor did I ever hear that more of the Kings
 ' letters that were found at *Naseby*, than those which
 ' they found decyphered, or found the cyphers in which
 ' they were writ were decyphered. And I very well
 ' remember, that in the volume they published, there
 ' was much left in cypher, which could not be under-
 ' stood ; and which, I believe, they would have ex-
 ' plained, if it had been in their power : but you can ea-
 ' sily satisfy yourself in this point ; if you either make a
 ' cypher yourself, or write half a score lines out of se-
 ' veral other cyphers, and send them to the artist : and
 ' then you will be convinced yourself, and be able to
 ' convince others ; and then it will be to no purpose to
 ' traffick

(*p*) Bar-
 wick's Life,
 p. 500. 8vo.
 Lond. 1724.

and had very little fear of his power (Y)
of

(q) Id. p. 504. 'traffick any more in those commodities (q).' In a third letter, dated, *April 2*, he still adhered to his opinion.

'I cannot again imagine how any of our letters have come to be decyphered; for I am sure he cannot do it, if they were written carefully; nor have I heard of any that have been sent from hence, that have been decyphered. It is too much that those from thence have met with that misfortune; and I think that you once told me, that somewhat writ in your cypher had met with the same fate (r).' ---- It has been observed, that men are most confident, when most mistaken. This observation was verified here. There is undoubtedly such an art, as his lordship deemed impossible to have any existence.

(r) Id. p. 510.

'For Mr. *Matthew Wrenn* (son to the Right Reverend Bishop of *Ely*) who was intimately acquainted with this mathematician [*Wallis*], obtained of him some copies of these letters as he had decyphered them, and took care to have them delivered severally to the persons that wrote the letters, who all acknowledged them for their own, and left no room to doubt of the decyphers art (s).' ----- The royalists, we see, were a long time in a trap, before they were aware of it.

(s) Id. p. 252. *

(Y) *The government of England held him in contempt, and had very little fear of his power.*] We have already

* I think Dr. Wallis communicated this mystery to none but his own grandson, Mr. *Blancow*, fellow of All Souls, Oxford, whose head was too much affected by it; and he imparted it to the ingenious Mr. *Wills*, now D. D. royal decypherer, and prebendary of Westminster, 1726. *Kennett's Register*, p. 607. This gentleman was afterwards promoted to the bishopric of Bath and Wells, in 1743, where he is now living, 1762. The art of decyphering is now possessed by several gentlemen; though, perhaps, not in the perfection his lordship has it.

seen

of doing them any mischief. — And,
indeed, whoever considers the state of
Charles's

seen the commonwealth governors proclaiming *Charles* a traitor, and setting a price on his head. *Cromwell*, who succeeded them, entertained no more honourable thoughts of his Majesty; but publicly expressed his opinion of his meanness and guilt. In 'the true account of the conspiracy against his highness the protector, and the commonwealth, printed in 1654, and published by special command,' after having enumerated the tyrannies and wickedness of the *Stuart* race, whilst they sat on the *English* throne; the writer goes on in the following words. 'Next, as concerning his son, the present *young pretender*, he was one that was bred up in blood, in the midst of debauch'd armies, and drank a large draught of that which his father drew from the sides of these three nations. Upon his score also we must cast the barbarous murders of those two ingenious and learned gentlemen, Dr. *Dorila* and Mr. *Ashcam*; by which inhuman actions, with the other blood that hath been shed since, upon his account, both in *England* and *Scotland*, he hath, you see, approved himself heir apparent to that blood-guiltiness and vengeance which belongs to his fathers house. But this we may the more especially take notice of in that declaration which the *Scots* set out in his name, as their king, a little before the famous battle at *Dunbar*, wherein he acknowledged the sins of his fathers bloody and idolatrous house; the wicked ways of his father,

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Charles's court, if it may be called by that name, or his own behaviour, under

‘ the idolatries of his mother, and the blood-guiltiness
 ‘ of his family. What happiness or comfort then may
 ‘ be expected from such a race, whose interest still lies
 ‘ in blood, and who by a declaration of their own have
 ‘ acknowledged themselves to be a bloody generation?
 ‘ But yet this is not all, though it be enough to fright
 ‘ all honest men from any commerce or communication
 ‘ with him; there is one thing more very remarkable in
 ‘ the young man, and that is the disposition of his
 ‘ mind, being naturally a Nullifidian in all the points of
 ‘ civil honesty, as well as religion; one of whom no
 ‘ hold can be taken, by any oaths, promises, and en-
 ‘ gagements whatsoever, as you may perceive by his
 ‘ dealings with the *Scottish* nation, both before and after
 ‘ his coming amongst them. — Which demeanor of his
 ‘ being well weighed, we need say very little concern-
 ‘ ing his religion, supposing not many will fall in love
 ‘ with him for that which he himself seems not to be
 ‘ much in love with; but if any have a mind to be cu-
 ‘ rious about it, let them consider his education, his
 ‘ frequent negotiations with the court of *Rome*, his of-
 ‘ ten conversing with the Jesuits in their own colleges
 ‘ wheresoever he comes, his alliances with, relations and
 ‘ dependencies upon foreign papists, and they may easily
 ‘ conclude what religion he is of, if any. So that com-
 ‘ paring all these things together, whether we consider
 ‘ the fate and wretchedness of his family, or his own
 ‘ personal qualifications, we conceive it hardly imagi-
 ‘ nable, that any pious, honest, or sober-minded man
 ‘ should

der his misfortunes, will not wonder at the opinion that was entertained of his
infig-

‘ should contribute so much as a thought, much less
 ‘ imbroil his native country in blood and confusion (as
 ‘ these wild conspirators would have done) for the restor-
 ‘ ing so blood-guilty, perfidious, and infamous a house
 ‘ and person. Then lastly, as concerning his pretence of
 ‘ title, if we look up to *Henry* the Seventh, its original,
 ‘ there will be no great cause to admire it; for, he only
 ‘ descended from a bastard of *John of Gaunt*, which
 ‘ (though legitimated for common inheritances, yet)
 ‘ expressly was excluded from succession to the crown;
 ‘ and for his wives title, you know he never thought
 ‘ that worth the using; and yet from this spurious slip
 ‘ of the *Lancastrian* line it was, that King *James* derived
 ‘ his claim, and that but collaterally, and at second
 ‘ hand, being (in effect) a meer stranger in blood to the
 ‘ *English*; whereupon we may justly wonder what po-
 ‘ licy guided this nation, when it so strangely bowed
 ‘ down the neck to the yoke of strangers. But admit
 ‘ this title had been without flaws, yet this mans fathers
 ‘ treasons and his own, have most deservedly cut off the
 ‘ entaile; for it was evident enough what a governor
 ‘ this young pretender would have proved, who took in
 ‘ his fathers principles with his mothers milk, hath been
 ‘ bred up under the wings of prelacie and poperie, and
 ‘ as he suckt both breasts heretofore, so he hangs upon
 ‘ them both at this very day; one who from the
 ‘ beginning hath been engaged in a war against
 ‘ the commonwealth, and who hath the same
 ‘ counsellors his father had (assisted by the Jesuits)

insignificancy. For what dread could a government, who employed the most able

(*t*) True
Account, p.
19—23.

(*u*) 4to.
Lond. 1654.

‘ to remember him both of the design, and the ways to
‘ effect it ; one who hath been bedabbed in all the blood
‘ of *England, Scotland and Ireland* ; one who hath both
‘ his fathers and his own scores to clear out of *Eng-
‘ lish* purses, and made it his business to cajole and cheat
‘ all parties in hope to get in again, attended with the
‘ desperate rabble of the three nations, and then
‘ to do what he list, and dispose of all at meer will
‘ and pleasure, for the satisfying of their ambition
‘ and revenges (*t*).’ What spirit ! what discernment
of character ! what foresight of events is here ! ——
In another pamphlet, intituled, ‘ A true state of the
‘ case of the Commonwealth, in reference to the late
‘ established government by a Lord Protector (*u*),’ it is
said, ‘ if men shall yet proceed to lengthen their own
‘ burdens, by hankering after that family which God
‘ hath cast out before us, or by an unnatural seeking to
‘ imbroider their country again in blood and misery, for
‘ the sake of that accursed interest ; as we are loth to sus-
‘ pect such a thing, and can hardly imagine that any
‘ should be so forlorn and desperate after so fair a com-
‘ posure : so we think it necessary to reclaim such per-
‘ sons, if any there be inclined that way, by laying
‘ down these few considerations concerning that person
‘ and family which pretends to the government of these
‘ nations.

‘ 1. It is a family that hath worn the marks and
‘ badges of Gods high displeasure for almost these hun-
‘ dred years : the weight of which vengeance hath fallen
‘ upon,

able men in every department, and who were supported by a veteran army, flushed

‘ upon, and hitherto sunk all their partakers ; the particulars whereof being in every mans view, and many of them fresh in observation, we shall not here enumerate.

‘ 2. If we reflect upon the person of the young pretender, he is by blood almost a stranger to this nation, being by the mother a *Frenchman*, and now unquestionably such by his education in that court, where he hath always before his eyes that pattern of absolute power which bewitched his father. Besides, he is a man of blood, having involved himself in the guilt of all that innocent blood which was spilt by his father, and hath added more to it since, to fill up the measure of that transgression.

‘ 3. His religion (if any) is at best, you know, but a devotion to prelacy (which was bequeathed to him in legacy) having forfeited his oaths to the *Scottish* nation, and all his other pretences to religion there, before ever he left the country. What profession he owns in *France* is hardly visible ; but his mothers instructions, the urgency of his necessities disposing him to embrace any thing, his dependence upon foreign papists, his frequent known applications and promises to the pope, by special agents employed to *Rome* for that purpose, and to the emperor, his alliance to and combination with popish princes, being put all together in the ballance, is ground enough to believe him sufficiently affected, if not sworn to popery. For, if he have any promise of assistance (as perhaps the popish

ed with uninterrupted success, have of
men

‘ party may now combine, seeing we are for a settlement
‘ of the true religion) it is to be presumed, those per-
‘ sons will not be forward to re-invest him here, unless
‘ they may together with him restore the Roman-catho-
‘ lick interest and superstition.

‘ 4. The great and vast debts that he hath in all this
‘ time contracted abroad (should he return hither) must
‘ all be discharged out of the purses of this exhausted
‘ nation.

‘ 5. Consider the desperate crew of forlorn fugitives,
‘ foreigners, and papists, that he must bring along with
‘ him, which, will like locusts, devour the whole land be-
‘ fore them; for, their insatiable appetites must all be
‘ served, and great rewards must be thought of for his
‘ leaders and followers; so that his return will be so far
‘ from being a remedy or relief of taxes, that the na-
‘ tion itself will be too little for him and his.

‘ 6. The manifold revenges and cruelties that are to
‘ be expected: no mans life, no mans estate can be se-
‘ cure: there will be then no distinction of parties, and
‘ every small compliance with what hath passed, every
‘ the least word shall be made guilt enough, and
‘ ground enough (if he please) for death and confisca-
‘ tion.

‘ 7. Lastly, an arbitrary uncontrollable will and
‘ power to put all these things in execution: for, if
‘ ever he get in by the sword, he becomes at the very
‘ instant as absolute as the grand signior; and will then
‘ be fully enabled to accomplish what his family had
‘ long projected, viz. the inthroning himself upon an
‘ interest

men (z) continually at variance among
themselves,

‘interest of meer will and power against the common
‘interest of the people; by which means our lives and
‘liberties, our wives and children, our estates and for-
‘tunes, would all be exposed as a sacrifice to the bound-
‘less ambition and cruelty of a race of tyrants; it
‘would enervate the natural vigor and courage of the
‘people, and exceedingly debase the honour of this free
‘nation (x).’ — In this manner was *Charles* treated

(x) True
State, p. 48.

by those who held the reins of government! In this
light held up to the people! who were hereby taught
to look on him as most odious, as well as contempti-
ble. — From the above quotations one sees, that the
word *pretender*, as signifying a prince rejected by a
people, and excluded by laws, was not unknown to
the *English*, though it was almost forgotten, till re-
vived by *Queen Anne*, and applied to the person who
laid claim to the throne of *Great Britain* (y).

(y) See
Burnet's
History of
his Own
Times, vol.
ii. p. 503.

(z) *Men continually at variance among themselves, and
accusing each other.*] Whatever supposed advantages
there may be in fomenting factions in monarchies or
commonwealths, for the preservation of liberty, or the
safety of the prince; it will hardly admit of a doubt,
whether unanimity and harmony are necessary to such
persons as have hazardous enterprizes to undertake, or
powerful adversaries to guard against. Men in a com-
mon danger should be mutually helpful to each other,
and exert themselves to the utmost for the common
safety. Private piques and prejudices ought to be for
ever buried, or to be lain aside till the public affairs are
in a quiet and prosperous condition. This, common

themselves, and accusing each other?
What

sense teaches. But the followers of *Charles* had not learnt the lesson; and, consequently, were incapable of benefiting their master. As early as the year 1648, when the prince was in *Holland*, and his father in prison, high disputes arose among those who composed his council. — ‘In this desperate condition stood the Kings affairs when the Prince was at the *Hague*,’ says *Clarendon*: ‘his fleet already mutinying for pay, his own family factious and in necessity, and that of his brother the Duke of *York* full of intrigues and designs, between the restless, unquiet spirit of *Bamfield*, and the ambitious and as unquiet humour of Sir *John Berkley*. The council which was not numerous (for the Prince had not authority to add any to those who are his fathers counsellors) wanted not unity in itself so much as submission and respect from others, which had been lost to those who were in the fleet, and the prejudice to those still remained, and so abated much of the reverence which most men were willing to pay to the two who came last. And the great animosity which Prince *Rupert* had against the Lord *Colepepper* infinitely disturbed the counsels, and perplexed the Lord *Cottington*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had credit enough with the other two. But *Colepepper* had some passions and infirmities, which no friends could restrain; and though Prince *Rupert* was very well inclined to the chancellor, and would in many things be advised by him, yet his prejudice to *Colepepper* was so rooted in him, and that prejudice so industriously cultivated by
‘*Herbert*

‘*Herbert* the attorney general, who had the absolute
 ‘ascendent over that prince, and who did perfectly hate
 ‘all the world that would not be governed by him,
 ‘that every meeting in council was full of bitterness
 ‘between them (z).’ But this was not all. — *Colepepper*

(z) Vol. v.
 p. 192.

challenged Prince *Rupert*, but afterwards asked his
 pardon; and Sir *Robert Walsh* struck *Colepepper* in the
 face with great violent in the open street (a). After the
 death of *Charles I.* the factions still continued. Sir
Edward Nicolas, in a letter to the Marquis of *Or-*

(a) Carte’s
 Life of *Or-*
monde, vol.
 iii. p. 598.

monde, dated, *St. Germain*, Sept. 4, 1649, N. S. says,
 ‘There is here at this instant, whether the Lord *Jer-*
 ‘*myn* and his faction, or *Tho. Elliott*, and Sir *Edward*
 ‘*Herbert* (who are of Prince *Rupert*’s party) shall have
 ‘the chief interest in the management of the King’s
 ‘affairs. The first by the advantages of this place have
 ‘yet the better of it: but it is believed when the King
 ‘goes hence (especially if he goes not for *Jersey*) that
 ‘the other party will get the helm into their hands.
 ‘In the mean time nothing is settled or acted by sad or
 ‘serious counsel, but by catches and on occasion, to the
 ‘heart-breaking of all knowing men (b).’ In another

(b) *Or-*
monde’s Pa-
 pers, vol. i.
 p. 306.

letter to the same, dated, Sept. 21, 1649, he writes,
 ‘The Lord *Percy* was lately by the Kings command
 ‘confined for three days to his chamber for insolent
 ‘words spoken to his Majesty before the lords of the
 ‘council; but on his submission, he is at liberty, and
 ‘as busy in the Kings ear for the presbyterian faction
 ‘as ever (c).’ Again he tells the marquis, in a letter,

(c) Id. p.
 313.

written, Oct. 26, 1649, ‘I shall now only add, what in
 ‘some former letter I have intimated, that you will be
 ‘pleased to be wary how far you rely on, and what you

‘com-

- ‘ communicate to, Lord *Jermyn* ; for if I am truly informed by my Lord *Hatton* and others who honor your excellency, Lord *Jermyn* hath no kindness at all for you, and Mr. *Long* is his lordships creature and intelligencer (*d*).’ — The same gentleman, in a letter, dated, *Beauvais*, *March* 15, 1650, and written also to Lord *Ormonde*, informs him, ‘ The King will, when he arrives in *Holland*, increase the number of his counsellors as soon as he can : and truly unless he shall do so and unite those that are of his council, I cannot expect any prosperity. I pray be pleased in all your letters to advise his Majesty to settle a faithful and united council to manage his great affairs ; for, without it, none of his party will, with so great hazard as they must run, dare to appear. — I do little business, nor have any heart to it, being his Majesty hath not a formed council, and acts many things of importance by hands that few honest men will trust (*e*).’ — Lord *Ormonde*, in answer to Sir *Edward*, expresses some hopes of the King’s restoration ; hut adds, ‘ that which most staggers my faith in this is, the domestick division in so little a company as those are that profess to serve him ; yet that is not without apparent remedy, if men may be persuaded to pursue but their own interest with the calmness befitting rational persons ; and to such a reconciliation it shall be my most industrious labour to dispose all that have confidence in my friendship (*f*).’ --- But calmness and reason were unknown to these exiles : for the party opposite to *Hyde* and *Ormonde* were equally as loud in their turns, and scrupled not to accuse them of the worst crimes. --- Colonel *Bamfylde*, who followed *Charles* abroad, but kept up a
- corre-

(d) Id. p.

327.

(e) Id. p.

364.

(f) Id. p.

406.

correspondence with *Thurloe* at home, and gave notice of what came to his knowledge, informs him as follows. ‘ His counsils are his mother, the Duke of ‘ *Yorke*, Prince *Rupert*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the ‘ Marquis of *Ormonde*, the Earl of *Rochester*, the Lords ‘ *Percye*, *Jermin*, *Inchequin*, *Taff* lately made, and Sir ‘ *Edward Hyde*. The foure first, together with *Jermin*, ‘ are of a faction directly opposite to *Hyde* and the other ‘ party, who for the present intirely govern in his coun- ‘ cils ; and theyr designs seem to be as different as their ‘ inclinations. *Ormonde*, *Hyde*, and their party, have, ‘ contrary to the sense of the reste, advised and prevailed ‘ with theyr King totally to abandon both the party and ‘ the principles of the presbyterians, and to rely entirely ‘ upon his old episcopal party, which, they persuade ‘ him, comprehends the nobility, gentry, and bulke of ‘ the kingdom of *England*, who would not rise with ‘ him in his late march into *England*, because he was ‘ believed to goe upon grounds disagreeable to theyr ‘ affections, interests, and the goode of the nation, ‘ and inconsistent with the antient constitutions both of ‘ church and state : and to this purpose about a year ‘ and a half since, or a little more, there was employed ‘ over to him one Sir *Gilbert Talbott*, with letters of ‘ credit, and to strengthen them with a considerable sum ‘ of money from divers persons of consideration in this ‘ commonwealth to his Majestie, with assurance, that ‘ if he would retire to his first principles, and intrust ‘ the management of his affairs to such hands aboute ‘ him, as his friends might securely confide in, they ‘ would adventure both theyr lives and fortunes for his ‘ recovery. To second this, immediately after, one ‘ Colonel *Phillips* was employed to him by others to the ‘ same

(g) Thur-
loe, vol. ii.
p. 510.

(b) Vol.
iii. p. 459.

(i) Id. p.
659.

‘ same purpose : and albeit I believe there was much of
 ‘ reality in theise messages, yet I doe not doubt, but the
 ‘ persons and their designs were represented by *Hyde*
 ‘ and *Ormonde* (whoe procured themselves to be repre-
 ‘ sented as fittest for truste) with greater advantages,
 ‘ than either could produce for the strengthening of theyr
 ‘ own credit with their master ; by which means they
 ‘ weaned their King from the government of his mo-
 ‘ thers councill, and have ever since bound him abso-
 ‘ lutely up to theyr owne sence (g).’ --- Mr. *Manning*
 (who was afterwards shot for betraying the King), in a
 letter, dated, *June 1*, 1655, says, ‘ I need not tell you
 ‘ by whom Prince *Rupert* was turned from court. —
 ‘ By the last letters it doth seem, as if Prince *Rupert*
 ‘ had an intention to see *Cologne* before *Modena* ; and if
 ‘ he can break *Hydes* neck here, it may alter his design,
 ‘ and make him stay with the King, which he hath most
 ‘ mind of (b).’ --- In another letter, written from *Co-*
logne, *July 28*, of the same year, it is said, ‘ *Wednes-*
 ‘ *day* last *Middleton* and *Belcarris* were made friends by
 ‘ *Charles Stuart* himself, and all hushed. The same day
 ‘ that the calumny was taken off, *Belcarris* propounded
 ‘ to the King from the body of the *Scots* presbyterians,
 ‘ that if the Duke of *York* or Prince *Rupert* might be
 ‘ solely left to be their leaders and managers of that affair,
 ‘ and that *Hyde* may not be privy to any thing of it, or
 ‘ that party, that then all their interest for money, men,
 ‘ and arms, should be employed against you. And now
 ‘ he proceeds to treat concerning a reconciliation be-
 ‘ tween *Charles Stuart* and the Queen (i).’ ----- That
 there were great prejudices against *Hyde*, he himself con-
 fesses. ‘ There was another design,’ says he, ‘ set on
 ‘ foot,

‘ foot, by which they [his adversaries] concluded they
‘ should sufficiently mortify the chancellor [himself],
‘ who, they thought, had still too much credit with his
‘ master. When the King went into *Scotland*, Mr.
‘ *Robert Long*, who had been mentioned before, was
‘ secretary of state; who, having been always a crea-
‘ ture of the Queens, and dependent upon the Lord
‘ *Fermyn*, had so behaved himself towards them, dur-
‘ ing his short stay in *Scotland* (for he was one of those
‘ who was removed from the King there, and sent out
‘ of that kingdom), that when his Majesty returned
‘ from *Worcester* to *Paris*, they would by no means suf-
‘ fer that he should wait upon his Majesty; and accused
‘ him of much breach of trust, and dishonesty, and,
‘ amongst the rest, that he should say, which could be
‘ proved, that it was impossible for any man to serve
‘ the King honestly, and to preserve the good opinion
‘ of the Queen, and to keep the Lord *Fermyns* favour.
‘ The truth is, that gentleman had not the good for-
‘ tune to be generally well thought of, and the King
‘ did not believe him faultless; and therefore was con-
‘ tented to satisfy his mother, and would not permit him
‘ to execute his office, or to attend in his councils.
‘ Whereupon he left the court, and liv’d privately at
‘ *Roan*; which was the reason that the chancellor had
‘ been commanded to execute that place, which intitled
‘ him to so much trouble. Upon this conjunction be-
‘ tween the Lord *Fermyn* and the Keeper [*Herbert*],
‘ the last of whom had in all times inveigh’d against
‘ Mr. *Long’s* want of fidelity, they agreed, that there
‘ could not be a better expedient found out to lessen the
‘ chancellors credit, than by restoring *Long* to the exe-
‘ cution of the secretary’s function. Whereupon they
‘ sent

' sent for him, and advised him to prepare a petition to
 ' the King, that he might be again restored to his office
 ' and attendance, or that he might be charged with his
 ' crimes, and be farther punished, if he did not clear
 ' himself, and appear innocent. This petition was
 ' presented to the King, when he was in council, by
 ' the Queen; who came thither only for that purpose,
 ' and desired that it might be read; which being done,
 ' the King was surprized, having not in the least re-
 ' ceived any notice of it; and said that her Majesty
 ' was the principal cause that induced his Majesty to re-
 ' move him from his place, and that she then believed
 ' that he was not fit for the trust. She said, she had
 ' now a better opinion of him, and that she had been
 ' misinformed. The King thought it unfit to receive a
 ' person into so near a trust, against whose fidelity there
 ' had been such publick exceptions; and his Majesty
 ' knew that few of his friends in *Englana* would corre-
 ' spond with him; and therefore would not be perswaded
 ' to restore him. This was again put all upon the
 ' chancellors account, and the influence he had upon
 ' the King. Thereupon Mr. *Long* accused the chan-
 ' cellor of having betrayed the King; and undertook
 ' to prove that he had been over in *England*, and had
 ' private conference with *Cromwell*: which was an as-
 ' persion so impossible, that every body laugh'd at it:
 ' yet because he undertook to prove it, the chancellor
 ' pressed that a day might be appointed for him to pro-
 ' duce his proof: and at that day, the Queen came again
 ' to the council, that she might be present at the charge.
 ' There Mr. *Long* produced *Massonet*, a man who had
 ' serv'd him, and afterwards been an under-clerk
 ' for

‘ for writing letters and commissions, during the time
‘ of the Kings being in *Scotland*, and had been taken
‘ prisoner at *Worcester*; and, being released with the
‘ rest of the Kings servants, had been employed, from
‘ the time of the Kings return, in the same service un-
‘ der the chancellor; the man having, before the trou-
‘ bles, taught the King, and the Duke of *York*, and
‘ the rest of the kings children to write, being indeed
‘ the best writer, for the fairness of the hand, of any
‘ man in that time. *Massonet* said, that after his release
‘ from his imprisonment, and whilst he staid in *London*,
‘ he spoke with a maid, who had formerly serv’d him,
‘ that knew the chancellor very well, and who assured
‘ him, that one evening she had seen the chancellor go
‘ into *Cromwells* chamber at *Whitehall*; and after he
‘ had been shut up with him some hours, she saw him
‘ conducted out again. And Mr. *Long* desired time,
‘ that he might send over for this woman, who should
‘ appear and justify it. To this impossible discourse,
‘ the chancellor said, he would make no other defence,
‘ than that there were persons then in the town, who,
‘ he was confident, would avow that they had seen him
‘ once every day, from the time he returned from *Spain*
‘ to the day on which he attended his Majesty at *Paris*;
‘ as indeed there were; and when he had said so, he of-
‘ fered to go out of the room; which the King would
‘ not have him do. But he told his Majesty it was the
‘ course; and that he ought not to be present at the de-
‘ bate that was to concern himself; and the keeper with
‘ some warmth, said, it was true; and so he retired to
‘ his own chamber. The Lord *Jermyn*, as soon as he
‘ was gone, said, that he never thought the accusation
‘ had

' had any thing of probability in it; and that he believ'd
 ' the chancellor a very honest man; but the use that he
 ' thought ought to be made of this calumny, was, that
 ' it appeared that an honest and innocent man might be
 ' calumniated, as he thought Mr. *Long* had likewise
 ' been; and therefore they ought both to be cleared.
 ' The keeper said, he saw not ground enough to con-
 ' demn the chancellor; but he saw no cause neither to
 ' declare him innocent: that there was one witness
 ' which declared only what he had heard; but that he
 ' undertook also to produce the witness herself if he
 ' might have time; which in justice could not be de-
 ' nied; and therefore he proposed, that a competent
 ' time might be given to Mr. *Long* to make out his
 ' proof; and that in the mean time the chancellor
 ' might not repair to the council: with which proposi-
 ' tion the King was so offended, that, with much
 ' warmth, he said, he discerned well the design; and
 ' that it was so false and wicked a charge, that, if he
 ' had no other exception against Mr. *Long* than this
 ' foul and foolish accusation, it was cause enough ne-
 ' ver to trust him. And therefore he presently sent for
 ' the chancellor, and as soon as he came in, command-
 ' ed him to sit in his place; and told him he was sorry he
 ' was not in a condition to do him more justice than to
 ' declare him innocent; which he did so, and command-
 ' ed the clerk of the council to draw up a full order for
 ' his vindication, which his Majesty himself would
 ' sign (k). Thus the chancellor tells the story. But
 ' Sir *Richard Greenville*, or *Granville*, in his ' defence
 ' against all aspersions of malignant persons,' printed
 and

(k) Vol.
 vi. p. 515.

and published in *Holland*, Jan. 28, 1654, relates it as follows. ' In *April* and *May*, 1653, when I was in ' *Paris*, it was there commonly spoken by divers persons, how that Sir *Edward Hyde* was suspected to have ' betrayed the King. Afterwards elsewhere having understood more probabilities of such truths, I believed ' it my duty to advertize his Majesty of what I had been ' informed thereof, Aug. 12, 1653, I writ it to his ' Majesty, for prevention of future mischief, if to be ' doubted, as that it was reported Sir *Edward Hyde* ' had private conference with *Cromwell* in *England* for ' intelligence. For answer thereto, the Marquis of *Ormonde*, by letter of the 19th of *September*, 1653, did ' write to me, — that his Majesty required to know ' my grounds for what I did alledge against Sir *Edward Hyde*, also that I should send him all writings received ' concerning that affair : and likewise the names of all ' my authors. In obedience, I wrote as followeth. ' That my duty was my only ground for what I writ ' concerning Sir *Edward Hyde*. As for my authors, ' Colonel *Wyndham* said to myself at *Boulogne*, in *June*, ' 1653, that Sir *Edward Hyde* had been in *England*, ' and that there he had private speech with *Cromwell*; ' also, said he, Mr. *Robert Long* is now in *Holland*, he ' can, and will give more certain information of its ' particulars : and that thereupon I did by letter desire ' Mr. *Long* to certify the truth of that report. *July* ' 28, 1653, I received his answer, wherein he appeared ' to confirm, what I writ was said of Sir *Edward Hyde*, ' by Colonel *Wyndham* : which letter I sent, because ' commanded, but greatly against my will. Since ' which letter Mr. *Robert Long* sent me another, containing

' taining thus — I will assure you it will be verified
 ' that the person named did positively and constantly af-
 ' firm before two witneſſes, whereof one is on this ſide
 ' of the ſea and the other in *England*, that that perſon
 ' brought Sir *Edward Hyde* to a conference with *Crom-*
 ' *well*, and deſcribed him ſo particularly, that it was evi-
 ' dent he was known; and did as particularly deſcribe
 ' a perſon that was then with him. — And laſtly,
 ' concerning Sir *Edward Hydes* penſion for intelligence,
 ' that it was ſo ſaid by divers perſons, ſo commonly, and
 ' in divers places, that I did not charge them to my
 ' memory, therefore could not poſſibly at certainty
 ' name many authors for it, but I did well remember Mr.
 ' *Campbell* ſaid it ſundry times in my hearing at *Paris*:
 ' ſo alſo did the biſhop of *Derry* ſpeak it to me at *Fluſh-*
 ' *ing*, *July*, 1653. Having thus performed my duty,
 ' as required, at laſt, for the reward of my conſtant
 ' known loyalty, the Marquis of *Ormonde* did ſignify to
 ' me, by letters dated *November 29*, 1653, That it was
 ' his Majeſties pleaſure to command that I ſhould not
 ' come into his preſence or court: that he finds my al-
 ' legations againſt Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer to
 ' be deficient to the ends they were offer'd, and are
 ' taken to be a defamatory libel. Since again for far-
 ' ther vindication of *Hyde*, have been diſperſed many
 ' copies of a declaration in writing, as authorized by
 ' his Majeſty, *Jan. 13*, 1654, whereof divers copies
 ' have been diſpers'd, not only in *France*, but only in
 ' *England*, *Holland*, and elſewhere; and of the ſame
 ' here next enſuing is a copy.

“ *Tueſday,*

“ *Tuesday*, the 13th of *January*, 1654.

P R E S E N T,

The KINGS MAJESTY,
 The QUEENS Majesty,
 The DUKE of YORK,
 The DUKE of GLOUCESTER,
 Prince RUPERT,
 Lord Keeper, Sir *Edward Herbert*,
 Lord Chamberlain, Lord *Piercy*,
 Lord *Inchiquin*,
 Marquis of *Ormonde*, Lord Lieutenant
 of *Ireland*,
 Lord *Fermyn*,
 Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.

‘ Whereas upon complaint made the 22d day of *De-*
 ‘ *cember* last by Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, of
 ‘ certain discourses spread abroad to his prejudice, as
 ‘ if he was under an accusation of high treason: and
 ‘ upon his humble desire that his Majesty would exa-
 ‘ mine the grounds of those discourses; his Majesty,
 ‘ after other enquiries, caused a letter to be read which
 ‘ had been written to himself in *August* last past by Sir
 ‘ *Richard Granville*, in which he informed his Majesty,
 ‘ that Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer had made a
 ‘ step into *England* before his last coming to *Paris*, and
 ‘ that he had there private conference with *Cromwell*,
 ‘ and that he had a pension paid him a long time out of
 ‘ *England* for intelligence: For justifying which in-
 M 2 ‘ formation,

' formation, the said Sir *Richard*, being required by his
 ' Majesty to send him the grounds thereof, had sent a
 ' letter written to him by Mr. *Robert Long*, which was
 ' then likewise read: upon which matter, after his Ma-
 ' jesty had examined other allegations made by Sir
 ' *Richard*, which he found to be untrue, and some
 ' whereof his Majesty himself knew to be false, his Ma-
 ' jesty had formerly declared his judgment to the said
 ' Sir *Richard*, forbidding him to come into his presence.
 ' — And moreover his Majesty examined Mr. *Peter*
 ' *Massonet* at the board, the 12th of this instant, in
 ' regard he had been mentioned as one of the authors of
 ' that report; and likewise caused a paper written by the
 ' said Mr. *Robert Long*, dated *January 13th*, in justi-
 ' fication of what he had formerly written to Sir
 ' *Richard Granville*, to be read, which paper his Ma-
 ' jesty looks upon as a libel derogatory to his own ho-
 ' nour and justice, as well as full of malice against Mr.
 ' Chancellor, and will hereafter take farther considera-
 ' tion thereof. And upon the whole matter declares, that
 ' the accusation and information against Mr. Chancellor
 ' is a groundless and a malicious calumny, and that he
 ' is well satisfied of his constant integrity and fidelity in
 ' the service of his father and himself: and moreover
 ' that he will in due time farther examine this unwor-
 ' thy combination against him, when it shall be more
 ' in his power to punish the persons who shall appear
 ' to be guilty of it. And in the mean time his Majesty
 ' declares his former judgment, that the said Sir *Richard*
 ' *Granville* shall not presume to come into his presence."
 ' To conclude this declaration, I only subscribe —
 ' *O put not your trust in princes, nor in any child of man,*
 ' for

What fear of a prince, poor and exiled, who spent his time in idleness or low amours(AA)? Fortune, however, seemed to

'for there is no help in them.' Lord *Landsdown*, in a marginal note, says, 'he [*Granville*] might very well 'make that reflexion, for there was not a member of 'the council but who had engaged himself to stand by 'him, except the Marquis of *Ormonde* (1)' The reader will, from this declaration of the council, remark on the defects, to say the least, of Lord *Clarendon's* narrative; and, what is more material, on the broils subsisting among the followers and counsellors of *Charles*, who thereby incapacitated themselves from promoting his interest in the *British* dominions, or in foreign realms. For what could the one or the other think of a set of men, whom adversity itself had not taught wisdom? A more contemptible groupe can hardly be figured, by the imagination, than these men: beaten in the field; fugitives in a foreign land; adorned with empty, insignificant, high-sounding titles: poor; beggarly; quarrelsome; and contentious: hateful; and hating one another. — Could these excite fear among any but themselves?

(1) *Landsdown's Works*, vol. ii. p. 236—241.

(AA) *What fear of a prince, ----- who spent his time in idleness, or low amours.*] Nothing is more prejudicial to men in common life, than idleness. The faculties of the soul contract rust by it; and in time become languid, or lethargic. To which it ought to be added,

to favour him by the death of *Oliver*,
who

that it is the parent of many a vice ; and inconsistent
with our dignity, duty, and happiness :

‘ Man hath his daily work of body or mind
‘ Appointed him, which declares his dignity,
‘ And the regard of Heav’n on all his ways.’

MILTON.

A prince of this disposition is ill qualified to maintain
his station in prosperity. A favorite must have the di-
rection of all affairs, which will be managed generally
in such a manner as to be hurtful to the public, and
prejudicial to the sovereign. But in adversity, nothing
possibly can be more mischievous. It despirits friends,
it encourages enemies, sinks the reputation, and renders
all around indifferent to his interest. *Burnet* tells us,
‘ that whilst *Charles* was abroad at *Paris*, *Colen*, or *Brus-*
‘ *sels*, he never seemed to lay any thing to heart. He
‘ pursued all his diversions, and irregular pleasures, in
‘ a free carrier ; and seemed to be as serene under the
‘ loss of a crown, as the greatest philosopher could have
‘ been. Nor did he willingly hearken to any of those
‘ projects, with which he often complained that his
‘ chancellor persecuted him. That in which he seemed
‘ most concerned was, to find money for supporting his
‘ expence. And it was often said, that, if *Cromwell*
‘ would have compounded the matter, and have given
‘ him a good round pension, he might have been in-

who had distinguished himself so much
by

‘duced to resign his title to him. During his exile he
‘delivered himself so entirely to his pleasures, that he
‘became incapable of application. He spent little of
‘his time in reading or study, and yet less in think-
‘ing (m).’ — That this very probably is a true account
of his Majesty’s behaviour abroad, will be evident from
the following quotations. — Sir *Edward Nicolas*, as early
as the year 1649, writing to Lord *Ormonde*, says, ‘I
‘beseech your lordship, when his Majesty shall be with
‘you there [in *Ireland*], not to spare to tell him home
‘the truth of his sad condition, and to advise him in
‘plain terms what is requisite for him to do in order to
‘his great affairs, without relation to any persons what-
‘soever. For his business and condition is such, and of
‘so vast and publick concernment, as will bear no com-
‘pliment or compliances with any (n).’ Lord *Byron*, in
a letter to the same nobleman, dated, *Jersey*, Oct. 12,
1649, tells him, ‘that he finds his Majesties stay [in
Jersey] ‘hath been so far from enabling him any way,
‘that it hath rather extreamly increased his necessities,
‘and that foreign princes (though I am confident when-
‘soever he comes into action he will sufficiently confute
‘all such opinions) begin to look upon him as a person
‘so lazy and careless in his own business, that they think
‘it not safe, by contributing any thing to his assistance,
‘to irritate so potent enemies as they fear his rebellious
‘subjects are like to prove. So that though *Drogheda*
‘(which God forbid) should fall into the rebels hands,
‘yet I humbly conceive that ought not at all to retard

(m) Hist.
of his Own
Times, vol.
vol. i. p.
611.

(n) Or-
monde’s Pa-
pers, vol. i.
p. 312.

by his abilities; and the partizans of
Charles,

(o) Id. p.
 318.

(p) Vol vi.
 p. 519.

‘ his journey into *Ireland*, but rather to hasten it, that
 ‘ he may come at least whilst he hath something left to
 ‘ fight for, and not be taken here in a nook of the
 ‘ world, with his hands in his pockets, as he is sure
 ‘ to be, if he continue here till the season of the year
 ‘ permit the rebels to attempt it (o).’ And if we may be-
 lieve the Lord *Clarendon*, he himself had often said, ‘ the
 ‘ King took too much delight in pleasures, and did not
 ‘ love to take pains; and that his Majesty confessed that
 ‘ he did really believe that he was himself in fault, and
 ‘ did not enough delight in his business (p).’

What a man in the gaiety of youth, thoughtless and
 indolent, may be supposed to do, *Charles* did. ‘ He
 ‘ passed his time at *Bruges*,’ said Sir *M. Verneth*, ‘ with
 ‘ shooting and other such obscure pastimes, not so much
 ‘ as taken notice of.’ There was not much ground for
 blame in this: but what follows will be thought less re-
 putable to the King and his attendants. It is contained
 in a letter from Mr. *J. Butler*, dated, *Flushing*, Dec. 2,
 1656, N. S. — ‘ *Charles Stuarts* court groweth very
 ‘ numerous. — This last week, one of the richest
 ‘ churches at *Bruges* was plundered in the night; the
 ‘ people of *Bruges* are fully perswaded that *Charles Stu-*
 ‘ *arts* followers had done it; they spare no charges to
 ‘ find out the guilty, and if it happen to light upon any
 ‘ of *Charles Stuarts* train, it will certainly incense that
 ‘ people against them. — There is now a company of
 ‘ *French* comedians at *Bruges*, who are very punctually
 ‘ attended by *Charles Stuart* and his court, and all the
 ‘ ladies

Charles, in *England* and abroad, began
to

‘ ladies there : their most solemn day of acting is on the
‘ Lord’s day. I think I may truly say, that greater
‘ abominations were never practiced among people than
‘ at this day, at *Charles Stuarts* court. Fornication,
‘ drunkenness, and adultery, are esteemed no sins among
‘ them ; so that I perswade myself God will never
‘ prosper any of their attempts. He who was bishop of
‘ *Londonderry* [*Bramhall*], in *Ireland*, is now at *Bruges* ;
‘ when he preacheth, which is but seldom, he thunders
‘ out cruel execrations against the Lord Protector, and
‘ the state of *England* (q).’ Mr. *Kingstonn*, a zealous
royalist, in a letter, dated, *Paris*, Aug. 9. 1658, N. S.
gives an account of his Majesty’s behaviour in these
terms. ‘ Sir, Shall I believe that the King, who, by
‘ driving out of *Cullen* a person who gave his enemies
‘ a subject of discourse, acquired without doubt grace
‘ from heaven, and an advantageous esteem among
‘ men, is now misled so farre, as that the King of
‘ *France* should have cause to say openly, that the King
‘ of *England*, in his opinion, should rather with tears
‘ seek to appease the wrath of God, expressed in de-
‘ priving him of his kingdoms (and that he would do it,
‘ if he were in his case), than follow his amours at
‘ *Bruxells*? This comes from one that heard the King
‘ of *France* speak it. Lord *Aubeny* tould me, that some
‘ relate this to (100 339 5 19 2 25); but sure that
‘ is an invention, perhaps, to defame her, and put her
‘ at distance with *Lorain*, for some reasons best knowne
‘ to themselves ; but others speak of amours, to which
‘ he

(q) *Thur-*
loc, vol. v.
p. 645.

to be elated by that event. But their
hopes

‘ he is ledd by some about him. If it be so, first, I
‘ wish them hang’d for their pains, that doe so ; next,
‘ I looke with grief upon the condition of all of us,
‘ who certainly cannot expect any earthly happiness
‘ but by his means ; nor can he, without the hand of
‘ Heaven conduct him, ever attaine to that con-
‘ dition, wherein he may do doe us good, so as wee
‘ must fancy to ourselves such a God as is not sensible
‘ of injuries, or beleave he will not doe miracles for us,
‘ while we attend him. You best know how and when
‘ to make use of this advertisement. For my part, I
‘ thinke that, besides the duty I ow him, I have so much
‘ affection for his person, that if he had his birthright,
‘ I would with all submission lay his fault before him, nay
‘ expect the more favour for it, his disposition consi-
‘ dered ; and would not doubt when his excellent judg-
‘ ment came to reflect upon the harme, that follows in
‘ all the circumstances of it, he would execrate their
‘ toungues that whisper it, and their eyes that direct
‘ him to look on such objects (r).’ I suppose the per-
‘ son mentioned as driven away from *Cologne* by Mr. *King-*
‘ *stonn*, was Mrs. *Barlow*, of whom we find an account
‘ in two letters of Mr. *Daniel O’Neile’s* to *Charles* himself.
‘ In the first, dated, *Hage*, 8 Feb. 1656, he says, ‘ I have
‘ hitherto forborne giving your Majesty any account of
‘ your commands concerning Mrs. *Barloe*, because those,
‘ that I employed to hir, brought me assurances from
‘ hir, she would obey your Majesties commands. Of late I
‘ am tould she intends nothing less, and that she is assured
‘ from

(r) Id. vol.
vii. p. 325.

hopes were short-lived. For *Richard*,
the

‘ from *Collen* your Majesty would not have hir son from
‘ hir. I am much troubled to see the prejudice hir be-
‘ ing here does your Majesty; for every idle action of
‘ hers brings your Majestie upon the stage; and I am
‘ noe less ashamed to have so much importuned your
‘ Majesty to have beelevd hir worthy your care.
‘ When I have the honor to wayte upon your Majesty,
‘ I shall tell you what I have from a midwyf of this
‘ towne, and one of hir mayds, which she had not the
‘ discretione to use well after knowing so much of hir
‘ secrets.’ On the 14th of the same month he proceeds
to inform, that ‘ before he took the liberty to write any
‘ thing to him of Mrs. *Barloe*, he did sufficiently in-
‘ form himself of the truth of what he writ; since,’
adds he, ‘ I had the opportunity to save hir from pub-
‘ lick scandall att least. Hir mayd, whom she would
‘ have killed by thrusting a bodkin into her eare as shee
‘ was asleep, would have accused hir of that, of mis-
‘ carrying of two children by phissick, and of the infam-
‘ mous manner of hir living with Mr. *Howard*; but I
‘ have prevented the mischief, partly with threats, but
‘ more with a 100 gilders I am to give hir mayd. Her
‘ last miscarriage was since Mrs. *Howard* went, as the
‘ midwyf says to one, that I imploy to hir. Doctor
‘ *Rusuf* has given hir phissick, but it was allways after
‘ hir miscarrying; and though he knew any thing, it
‘ would bee indiscreet to tell it. Therefore I would
‘ not attempt him, and the rather, that I was suffici-
‘ ently assured by those that were neerer. Though I
‘ have

the eldest son of the Protector, succeeded

‘ have saved hir for this time, its not likely she’ll escape
 ‘ when I am gone ; for onely the consideration of your
 ‘ Majesty has held Monf. *Heenuleit* and Monf. *Nert-*
 ‘ *wick*, not to have hir banished this toun and country
 ‘ for an infamous person, and by sound of drum.
 ‘ Therefore it were well, if your Majesty will owen this
 ‘ chyld, to send hir your positive command to deliver
 ‘ him unto whome your Majesty will appoint. I know
 ‘ it from one, whoe has read my Lord *Taffs* letter to hir
 ‘ of the 11th by this last post, that he tells hir, your
 ‘ Majesty has noething more in consideratione than hir
 ‘ sufferings ; and that the next money you can gett or
 ‘ or borrow, shall be sent to supply hir. Whye your
 ‘ Majesty encourages any to speak this language, shee’le
 ‘ never obey what you will have ; the only way is to
 ‘ necessitat hir, if your Majesty can think hir worth
 ‘ your care (s).’ — This lady, whose true name was
 [*Lucy*] *Walter*, with her brother, the above-named Mr.
Howard, and her maid, *Ann Hill*, were afterwards
 seized in *England*, and separately examined. In the
 information of the servant, taken upon oath, the 26th
 day of *June*, 1656, there are the following particu-
 lars. ‘ That she was servant to the Lady *Walter*, in
 ‘ *Holland*, about seven months ; that the same lady came
 ‘ lately out of *Flushing*, hireing a boat to bring herself,
 ‘ two children, Mr. *Justus Walter*, her brother, and
 ‘ *Thomas Howard*, gentleman of the horse to the prin-
 ‘ cefs royal, at the *Hague* ; ---- that she had often
 ‘ heard, that one of the said children her said lady had
 ‘ by

(s) *Thur-*
loe, vol. i.
 p. 682.

ceeded him in his dignity, and was received

‘ by *Charles Stuart*, and that the said lady had no other
 ‘ means to maintain her but what she hath from the said
 ‘ *Charles Stuart*, although she lives in a costly and high
 ‘ manner; and that her brother swore to the said in-
 ‘ formant, the said lady had been lately with the King,
 ‘ meaning *Charles Stuart*, a night and a day together (t).’

(t) Id. vol.
 v. p. 160.

In a further information taken the 2d of *July*, *Ann Hill*
 declares, ‘ that Mrs. *Walter* told her, that the very
 ‘ same night in which she came from *Antwerp* or *Brus-*
 ‘ *sels*, *Charles Stuart* came thither, whereupon this in-
 ‘ formant asked her in these words, Did your honour
 ‘ see him? To which she answered, Yes, and he saw
 ‘ your master too (meaning one of her children, who is
 ‘ usually called master). And this informant saith that
 ‘ she knows not who came with the said lady into *Eng-*
 ‘ *land* besides *Justus Walter*, and *Thomas Howard*; and
 ‘ saith that she heard the said lady and her brother con-
 ‘ fer together about a necklace of pearl, which the lady
 ‘ intimated to him she had bought; and that they discours-
 ‘ ed it must cost about 1500*l*. That she heard the said
 ‘ lady say, she had bespoke a coach, and that she would
 ‘ have it lined with red velvet, and have gold fringe on
 ‘ it within three weeks; and said, although they lived
 ‘ but closely in their lodgings, yet very plentifully in
 ‘ clothes and dyet, and had a coach to attend them con-
 ‘ tinually from week to week (u).’ Mrs. *Walter* was
 also examined; ‘ who owned she had had a child by
 ‘ *Charles Stuart*, which was dead; but said that the two
 ‘ children

(u) Id. p.
 178.

ceived under the same title by foreign
princes,

(x) Id. 169. 'children she then had, were by a husband she had in
' *Holland*, whose was also dead (x).' Nothing of sig-
nificancy could be got out of the brother, or Mr.
Howard; though he afterwards became an informer of

(y) See
Downing's
Letter to
Thurloe, in
note [x].

the actions of *Charles* to the government (y). Mrs.
Walter was soon released from the *Tower* by the protec-
tor. The son mentioned above, which was said to be
Charles Stuart's, was born at *Rotterdam*, Ap. 9, 1649,
and bore the name of *James Crofts* till his Majesty's re-
storation. He was educated chiefly at *Paris*, under the
eye of the Queen-mother, and the government of *Tho-*
mas Ross, Esq; and afterwards was well known by the
title of Duke of *Monmouth* (z). — Lord *Clarendon* tells

(z) Col-
lins's Peer-
age, vol. iii.
p. 411. 8vo.
Lond. 1756.

us, that with 'the Queen-mother (after the restora-
' tion) came over a youth of about ten or a dozen years
' of age, who was called by the name of Mr. *Crofts*,
' because the Lord *Crofts* had been trusted to take care
' of his breeding; but he was generally thought to be
' the Kings son, begotten upon a private *Welshwoman*
' of no good fame, but handsome, who had transported
' herself to the *Hague*, when the King was first there,
' with a design to obtain that honour, which a groom
' of the bedchamber willingly preferr'd her to; and
' there it was this boy was born. The mother lived af-
' terwards for some years in *France* in the Kings sight,
' and at last lost his Majesties favour: yet the King de-
' sired to have the son delivered to him, that he might
' take care of his education, which she would not con-
' sent to. At last the Lord *Crofts* got him into his
' charge;

‘charge; and the mother dying at *Paris*, he had the
 ‘sole tuition of him, and took care for the breeding
 ‘him suitable to the quality of a very good gentleman.
 ‘And the Queen, after some years, came to know of
 ‘it, and frequently had him brought to her, and used
 ‘him with much grace; and upon the Kings desire
 ‘brought him with her from *Paris* into *England*, when
 ‘he was about twelve years of age, very handsome, and
 ‘performed those exercises gracefully which youths of
 ‘that age used to learn in *France*. The King received
 ‘him with extraordinary fondness, and was willing that
 ‘every should believe him to be his son, though he did
 ‘not yet make any declaration that he looked upon him
 ‘as such, otherwise than by his kindness and familiarity
 ‘towards him. He assigned a liberal maintenance for
 ‘him; but took not that care for a strict breeding of
 ‘him as his age required (a).’ --- I must not neglect to
 add, that according to Mr. *Algernon Sydney*, ‘*Monmouth*
 ‘was, by the direction of Lord *Crofts*, brought up un-
 ‘der the discipline of the *Peres de l’Oratoire* (b).’

(a) Continuation, vol. ii. p. 391.

(b) Letters of Algernon Sydney to Henry Saville, p. 68. 8vo. Lond. 1742.

(c) Burnet, vol. i. p. 649.

Whether *Charles* was married to this Mrs. *Walter*, was a question much agitated in the latter part of his reign. The King, it is well known, absolutely denied it; and *Monmouth*, in the *Tower*, gave it under his hand, ‘that his father had often told him that there was
 ‘no truth in the reports of his having married his mother (c).’ On the other hand, it was asserted, that Mrs. *Walter*, at the time of her travail with the said Duke, at other times, and in her last moments, did positively declare it: that Dr. *Fuller*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, did often affirm, that he married the King and Mrs. *Walter*: that the innkeeper at *Liege* made it the great
 mystery

(d) Harleian
Miscellany,
vol. iv. p.
160.

(e) Lord
Somers's
Collection of
Tracts, vol.
i. p. 75. 4to.
Lond. 1748.

mystery with which he entertained his *English* guests, that the marriage was celebrated and consummated in his house; and that both he and his wife were eye and ear witnesses of it. To this it was added, that the Lord Chancellor *Clarendon*, being in danger of an impeachment for advising and persuading the King to a marriage with Queen *Catherine*, excused himself from all sinister ends in that affair, by affirming, that his Majesty had a lawful son of his own, by a former marriage (specifying by name the Duke of *Monmouth*), to succeed to his crown and dignity (d). And it is farther said, 'that as there was no one person, accustomed to the fellowship of the town, who had not heard of such a marriage; so it was uncontrollably known, that there was in *Oliver's* time, a letter intercepted from the King to the said lady, then in the *Tower*, superscribed, *To his wife*. Nor is it unknown,' continues the writer, 'with what homage the King's party in *England* at that time paid their devotion, and testified their obedience to her. For, as they addressed her upon the knee, so by that, and many other symbols, they declared, they esteemed her for no less than the lawful wife of their king and master (e). — What stress is to be laid on the words of such persons as *Charles* and the lady, in this affair, I pretend not to determine; nor do I think the stories brought to prove the legitimacy of *Monmouth's* birth, are of any great force to confirm it: but there is a passage or two in some letters from the Princess of *Orange*, the King's sister, which would almost induce one to think there was something in it. — In a letter, dated, *Hage*, 20 *May*, 1655, she says, 'Your wife is resolving whether shee will writ or no: therefore

‘ therefore I am to say nothing to you from her ; but I
 ‘ will keepe open my letter as long as the post will per-
 ‘ mitte, to expect what good nature will worke, which
 ‘ I find now doth not at all, for ’tis now eleven of the
 ‘ clock, and no letter comes (f).’ --- In another, writ-
 ‘ ten from *Hounsler-dyke*, 21 *June*, 1655, she says, ‘ Your
 ‘ wife desires me to present her humble duty to you,
 ‘ which is all she can say. I tell her, ’tis because she
 ‘ thinks of anothere husband, and dos not follow your
 ‘ example of being as constant a wife as you are a hus-
 ‘ band. ’Tis a frailty, they say, is given to the sex ;
 ‘ therefore you will pardon her, I hope (g).’ These ex-
 ‘ pressions are odd of a mistress, ---- though possibly they
 ‘ may not prove her to have been a wife.

(f) *Thur-*
loe, vol. i.
 p. 665.

(g) *Id. ib.*

The reader will excuse a digression which casts some light on the character and behaviour of the mother of a man who figured so much in this reign, and involved so many in ruin, by his rashness, in the following. --- Besides Mrs. *Walter*, Charles had two other mistresses whilst abroad : viz. Mrs. *Elizabeth Killigrew*, who brought him a daughter, who died in 1684 ; and Mrs. *Catherine Peg*, by whom he had a son, created Earl of *Plymouth*, who was killed at *Tangier* in 1680. So amorous was the young monarch ! so early did he shew that disposition to gallantry, for which, during life, he was so remarkable ! It must be confessed, this was not among his worst faults : --- his youth ; his situation, which was a bar to a marriage suitable to his birth ; his ill education ; and the examples of other princes, who were seldom scrupulous on this head ; plead somewhat in excuse for him : but as his amours and gallantries were low, and well known ; it cannot be wondered

princes, the army, and the three nations (BB) in general, with the greatest accla-

that his adversaries held him in contempt, and were in little fear of him.

(BB) Richard *was received by foreign princes, the army, and the three nations.*] What hopes were formed by the royalists on the death of *Oliver*, will be best learnt by part of a letter sent by Mr. *Barwick* to the King soon after. — ‘Though hitherto things,’ says he, ‘pass with some smoothness in the former channel, yet there is some underhand muttering already upon this point of his succession, which makes them dread the very name of a parliament, and yet they are upon the very point of being forced to call one for want of money. Their debts are great, and no other visible way of raising any competent summe. Whether this be the cause, or his so tamely parting with the generalship of *England* at last to *Fleetwood*, or both, of young *Cromwell’s* melancholy, I know not; but sure it is, most men say he is sick; and yet those, that are likest to know the disease, say, it is chiefly to give way to his council to do what they please, which some of them like well enough. There was some confusion at *Whitehall* the night before *Cromwell’s* death, though closely conveyed. Some of the grandees, distrusting the place, removed their trunks out of the house. At least six hours before his death, the fifth monarchy-men sent out their emissaries post into most parts of *England*, having notice how desperate his condition was. They speak their minds freely already, and

‘ have

acclamations. And to evidence their zeal
on

‘ have something a brewing in all likelihood. They
‘ have pitched upon *Lambert* for their general, and
‘ *Harrison* is content with the next command under
‘ him. Ever since old *Cromwell* had his eye upon the
‘ crown, he hath courted *Lambert* very much. One
‘ office he had was restored, with 2000*l.* arrears, and
‘ his estate was promised to be doubled from 3000*l.* *per*
‘ *annum* to six; and still they carry fair with him, and
‘ have sent him mourning against the funeral. The
‘ want of money makes them fall short of their first de-
‘ sign of the funerall pageantry. At first they proposed
‘ to themselves the funeral of King *James* for their pat-
‘ tern, and intended to go beyond it; but second
‘ thoughts are wiser. If a parliament come, the fifth
‘ monarchy-men will cut them out work both in the
‘ house and field. They hope *Fleetwood* will be no bit-
‘ ter enemy; and give out as if they had *Monck’s* army
‘ sure on their side, though not his person. If they
‘ have not learned the *** of bragging, there may
‘ be some cause of fear they get the *** saddle, and
‘ ride us all; yet some of them say, your Majesty will
‘ need no other sword but their own to make way to
‘ your throne, in case they clash in earnest; for the
‘ weaker party will espouse your Majesty’s cause, and
‘ that upon your own terms, rather than yeild to the
‘ other. I wish they may be true prophets. And I
‘ humbly crave leave to add, that some persons here, of
‘ good repute for wisdom and fidelity to your Majesty,
‘ think this will be more feasible, if your own party be

on this occasion, addressees were every
day

(b) Thurloe, vol. vii.
p. 415.

‘ not too forward to ingage on either side; and seeing
‘ your Majesty having now no visible force on foot, will
‘ make them more secure, and consequently the more
‘ likely to quarrel amongst themselves (b).’ These kind
of informations (which were not wholly without
foundation) roused up *Charles* to think more closely of
his affairs, and to endeavour to avail himself of the
changes which might happen. With this view he
writ what follows to the Princess Dowager of *Orange*.
---- ‘ The alterations which are reasonably to be ex-
‘ pected, as well in *England* as in the councils of
‘ princes and states on this side the sea, from *Cromwells*
‘ death and his sons succession to his usurpation, you
‘ may easily believe are the continual subject of my
‘ thoughts; and you can bear me witness, that my first
‘ reflexions were upon the States of the United Pro-
‘ vinces, as my wishes now are, that they would see it
‘ be their true interest, that the government of my
‘ kingdoms should return, and that by their assistance,
‘ from so prodigious and unstable a tyranny, to that an-
‘ tient and rightful form, that it hath pleased God for
‘ our sins to interrupt by the marvellous success of
‘ perfidious rebels. That it is their true interest, is so
‘ manifest, that there can be no reason why they do not
‘ pursue it, but the difficulty they may apprehend to be
‘ in the work, or the mistrust that may have been in-
‘ fused to them of me by my enemies, or such as know
‘ me not. But if all the ways of approaching and treating
‘ with them were not shut upon me, I could make it
‘ evident

day presented from the most respectable
bodies

‘ evident to them, that as no prince or state ever undertook a design of more lasting profit or glory, so there was never, in any action of much less importance, a more demonstrable facility. And I could make it no less evident to them, that as I have all imaginable reason to wish myself restored rather by them than by any other people but my own; so it is impossible for me to prove ungrateful after such a benefit, or to violate any the least part of what I shall engage myself to, without being as well the most foolish, as the most infamous person in the world. But I shall, in asking you a question, make it clear enough to you, that I cannot have so vile a thought as to make you the instrument of my deceit: I beseech you to let me know, whether your daughter, the Princess *Harriette*, be so far engaged, that you cannot receive a proposition from me concerning her: and if she be not, that you would think of a way, how, with all possible secrecy, I may convey my mind in that particular to you (i).’ ----- But the hopes of *Charles*, with respect to *Holland*, were as ill founded as those which regarded the young princess. He met with no success in either. The Princess Dowager of *Holland* civilly refused his alliance; and *De Witt*, who had the chief management of affairs in *Holland*, on hearing of *Richard’s* succession, expressed much joy to *Downing*, the *English* resident, ‘ that matters were so happily and quietly settled, and thereby such a disappointment to wicked men; enemies,’ as he said, ‘ as

(i) *Ormonde’s Papers*, vol. ii. p. 156.

bodies of men, full of congratulations,
and

(k) *Thurloe*, vol. vii.
p. 379.

‘ well to them as *England* (k).’ And on the 26th of
September, 1658, N. S. the States General resolved,
‘ that they would charge two of their company to go to
‘ the *English* residents house to condole with him about
‘ the decease of the lord protector; and then to con-
‘ gratulate about the succession and reception of the pre-
‘ sent lord protector, in the place of the lord his father,
‘ all with such compliments as befitt such an occa-

(l) *Id.* p.
393.

sion (l).’ *France*, with the same readiness, condoled
and congratulated, *Dr. Clarges*, in a letter to *Henry*
Cromwell, lord deputy of *Ireland*, dated, *London*, Oct.
19, 1658, says, ‘ The *French* ambassador had audience
‘ yesterday about three of the clock at *Whitehall*; he
‘ had a numerous train of gentlemen, all in mourning,
‘ to attend him, and was followed by eighty coaches.
‘ He told his highness (after the usual compliments of
‘ condoleing the death of his late highness), that his
‘ master commanded him in his name to offer to him
‘ the assistance of his counsellors and armies, to confirme
‘ him in the glories of his fathers conquests, and assist
‘ him against all the enemies of the peace of *England*
‘ at home and abroad. To which,’ adds the doctor
(who was brother-in-law to *Moncke*) ‘ his highness
‘ made a returne worthy of his own goodness and re-
‘ spect to so great a king, his friend and allye (m).’ —

(m) *Id.*

The following account of Mr. *Thurloe*’s will fully ex-
plain in what light both *Richard* and *Charles* stood,
in the eyes of *France* and *Spain* also. ‘ What pass’d
‘ between

and offers of standing by him with their
lives

‘ between *France* and the son of *O[liver]*. was this.
‘ Monsieur de *Bordeaux*, by the direction of the king,
‘ let him know, in *November* or *December*, 1658, that he
‘ was very much pressed to treat with *Spaine* for a peace,
‘ both by his owne subjects, and by letters from his al-
‘ lies ; and that a treaty could not be avoided, yet no-
‘ thing should be done therein without the consent of
‘ *England*. And therefore desired to know his mind upon
‘ this peace, assuring him, that in case he should find it
‘ for his interest to continue the war, that then *France*
‘ would make no peace ; but if he was resolved to make
‘ a peace with *Spaine*, then he desired to know (if he
‘ thought fit) what the conditions were which *England*
‘ would expect, and *France* would insist upon them equally
‘ as for themselves ; and offered to agree by a treaty, that
‘ neither *England* nor *France* should make any peace with
‘ *Spaine* without the consent of the other, desiring that
‘ all things in this treaty might be managed by joint
‘ counsells ; and from time to time they communicated
‘ what passed between them and *Pimontelli*, and between
‘ their allies, who daily prest them to this peace. The son
‘ of *O.* and his counsell inclined to the peace, but did
‘ not like to treat by the way of *France* ; but that
‘ some neutral place might be agreed upon, where the
‘ ambassadors of the three states might meet after the
‘ conditions were understood, upon which the peace
‘ was to be made ; and the court of *France* having sig-
‘ nified hither, that *Pimontelli* had instruction to treat

lives and fortunes. ---- Nor did the nations,

‘ with *England* upon the conditions of the peace, and
 ‘ of all things relating thereunto, the *English* ambassa-
 ‘ dor [*Lockart*], then at the *French* court, had directions
 ‘ to see his power, and desire a copy of them; that, in
 ‘ case they were such as gave satisfaction, he should be
 ‘ enabled to confer with him upon the particulars of a
 ‘ peace to be made between *England* and *Spaine*. The
 ‘ *English* ambassador accordingly had a copy of his pow-
 ‘ ers; but the change of affairs in *England* hindered any
 ‘ further proceedings thereupon. About the same tyme
 ‘ that *France* signified hither their intentions to treat,
 ‘ and communicated *Pimontelli’s* negotiation, there
 ‘ came over hither a person authorized from *Brussels* to
 ‘ try, whether there was any disposition in the govern-
 ‘ ment of *England* towards a peace with *Spaine*; and in
 ‘ case he found it, to speak with those who were nearly
 ‘ trusted in affairs about the conditions. The person,
 ‘ that came over, was spoke with by one of the coun-
 ‘ cell, and having given some reasons to induce belief
 ‘ that he came trusted from the counsell of *Brussels*, de-
 ‘ sired to know whether there were sincere intentions in
 ‘ this government of making a peace with *Spaine*. And
 ‘ being answered, that they were, upon honourable
 ‘ terms, he said, he believed there would be no differ-
 ‘ ence upon the conditions; and thereupon fell to dis-
 ‘ course of some particulars; wherein he said, he under-
 ‘ stood the mind of *Spaine*, though he had no authority
 ‘ to make offer of any conditions. The particulars
 ‘ spoke of were *Dunkirk*, *Jamaica*, trade in the *West*
 ‘ *Indies*,

tions, in alliance with *Oliver*, fail in
the

‘*Indies*, the Inquisition, and the condition of his Majesty of *Great Britain* [*Charles*] then in *Flanders*. For *Dunkirk*, he said, if money would not be taken for it, there would be no great difficulty in suffering the *English* to keep it. For *Jamaica*, he believed, that the King of *Spain* could not consent to have that in the *English* hands, in respect it would in time overthrow all the maxims he governed those parts by; but would give a considerable sum of money to *England* for it. And for the *English* trading there, that it could not be granted universally; but particular licences might be granted, not exceeding such a number. As to the Inquisition, the usual articles could not be altered; but means might be found out to assure the *English* that they should not be troubled thereupon, which would answer the end. And as to the King of *England*, he should not live in *Flanders* or *Spaine*; but some other place, out of the *Spanish* dominions, might be thought of, where he might reside under an allowance of a pension from the King of *Spaine*, without giving any jealousy to *England*; concluding with this, that if upon this discourse the government here will send a person incognito to *Madrid*, to the court of *Spaine*, he had direction from the counsell at *Brussels* to goe with him; and doubted not but the conditions of the peace would soon be agreed upon, if it were intended on this side. This was at two conferences; but the affairs of *England* were such at home, as gave no opportunity to intend this affair (n).’

In

(n) *Thurloe*, vol. i. p. 762.

the respect paid to sovereigns on these
occa-

(o) See Or-
monde's Pa-
pers, vol. ii.
p. 174.

In this manner was *Richard* treated by *Spain* and *France*; the latter of which, in conjunction with *Holland*, entered into a treaty with him (drawn up in *Latin*, according to antient custom), *May* $\frac{1}{2}$ ¹, 1659, in order to prevent the spreading of the flames of war in the North (o). It is very remarkable, that the point of honor was not yielded by *Richard* to the *French* king; but that the utmost care was taken of his dignity. — ‘I have not yet any directions,’ says *Downing* to *Thurloe*, *Apr.* 20, 1659, N. S. ‘from you what I shall do in relation to the order of setting his Highness’s name in this treaty: and for my own part, I shall not do any thing that may tend in the least to derogate from his highness’s honor. The *French* ambassador hath much press’d that his Highness may be put after the King of *France* in that part which I am to sign. I offered that I could sign one part for him and with him, in which the King of *France* should be before his Highness, so as he would sign one part for me and with me, in which his Highness should be before the King of *France*: but he refusing that, I have so ordered as that we will sign all to each of the parts of the accord or treaty, but that he alone shall sign that which he shall give me, and I alone sign that which I will give him; and so in which he signs he will put the King of *France* before his Highness; and in that which I sign, I will put his Highness before the King of *France*; and the States their deputies to sign alone the part which they are to give us, and therein to do

‘as

occasions. Compliments in profusion were made

‘as they use, which they say hath always been to put
 ‘the King of *France* before the King of *England*. And
 ‘thus have avoided putting my hand to any thing which
 ‘might any ways derogate from his Highness; and I have
 ‘so ordered it as that the *French* ambassador and I have
 ‘had no words about it; but that the business hath been
 ‘managed by *De Witte*, and as if it had come of him-
 ‘self and not from me (p).’ — It were to be wished
 that the same care had been taken in aftertimes to main-
 tain the honor of the *British* crown; and that no ad-
 vances had been made, or compliments paid, to any na-
 tion, *France* more particularly, which were inconsistent
 therewith. ---- Let us now see how things were at
 home. On the 3d of *September*, 1658, the day on
 which *Oliver* died, *Richard* was proclaimed in *London*
 in the following words. ‘Whereas it hath pleased the
 ‘most wise God in his providence to take out of this
 ‘world the most serene and renowned *Oliver*, late lord
 ‘protector of this commonwealth: and his highness
 ‘having in his life-time, according to the *humble*
 ‘petition and advice, declared and appointed the most no-
 ‘ble and illustrious the Lord *Richard*, eldest son of his
 ‘said late highness, to succeed him in the government of
 ‘these nations; we therefore of the privy council, to-
 ‘gether with the lord mayor, aldermen, and citizens
 ‘of *London*, the officers of the army, and numbers of
 ‘other principal gentlemen, do now hereby, with one
 ‘full voice and consent of tongue and heart, publish
 ‘and declare the said noble and illustrious Lord *Richard*

(p) Id. p.
169.

made him by the ambassadors resident
at

‘ to be rightful Protector of this commonwealth of Eng-
‘ land, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions and ter-
‘ ritories thereunto belonging : to whom we do acknow-
‘ ledge all fidelity and constant, obedience *according to*
‘ law and the said *humble petition and advice* ; with
‘ all hearty and humble affections, beseeching the Lord,
‘ by whom princes rule, to bless him with long life,
‘ and these nations with peace and happiness under his
‘ government.’ This proclamation was signed by *Chiverton*, mayor ; *Lawrence*, president ; *Fiennes*, and
Lisle ; *Fleetwood* ; *Desborough* ; *Mountague*, afterwards
Lord *Sandwich* ; *Thurloe* ; Lord *Fauconberg* ; and many
others of note in those times (q). In most of the cities
and chief towns in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, the same
proclamation was made, attended by the loud acclama-
tions of the people. ---- Addresses soon followed from
all parts. *London*, *Bristol*, *York*, paid their compli-
ments of condolance and congratulation ; and scarce a
county or town of note in the kingdom, but made an
offer of standing by the protector with their lives and
estates. A short specimen of these addresses to *Richard*,
as it may be acceptable to the reader, I will give, in the
humble address of the knights and justices of the peace,
gentlemen, ministers of the gospel, and other free-
holders, of the county of *Cambridge*.

‘ Most humbly sheweth, That we do hereby from
‘ our hearts profess our deep sense of the loss of our late
‘ renowned protector, your highness’s, and this com-
‘ monwealth’s most tender father, whose memory still
‘ lives,

(q) Whit-
lock, p. 674.

at his court, and every profession of
respect

‘ lives, and shall be for ever pretious with us and all
‘ good men to succeeding generations ; and we also lift
‘ up the name of the great God in perpetual praise, that
‘ hath been pleased yet again to appear for us in blast-
‘ ing the hopes of those who expected our confusion by
‘ the sad stroke ; but what they behold with sorrow (and
‘ as they have cause with shame) is beheld by us with
‘ comfort and rejoicing. And we do hereby solemnly,
‘ and from our hearts, most humbly declare our great
‘ joy and high satisfaction in the nomination and appoint-
‘ ment of your highness to, and your acceptance of, the
‘ highest trust of protector, and chief magistrate of these
‘ nations, according to the *petition and advice* of the late
‘ parliament ; whereby our hearts are filled with hopes,
‘ as well as with desires, that, in the management of this
‘ greatest trust, your highness will ever manifest a ten-
‘ der regard of promoting the honour of God, and good
‘ of this commonwealth, by countenancing and encou-
‘ raging the profession and practice of piety ; and also
‘ a like tender regard to maintain and preserve the just
‘ and dear-bought liberties of these nations, both reli-
‘ gious and civil, which the most gracious God hath
‘ been pleased to enrich us with above all the nations
‘ upon earth, and therefore ought to be most dearly
‘ prized by us, wherein we hope the advice of your
‘ people in parliament will be ever aiding and assisting ;
‘ and therefore most humbly desire may be by your high-
‘ ness accordingly entertained ; and we do hereby most
‘ solemnly promise and engage ourselves, faithfully to
‘ serve

respect which could testify the honor
in

‘serve and obey your most serene highness, as your
‘liege people, in defence of your highness’s person and
‘government with our lives and estates.

‘And shall continue to pray, that the God of your
‘father, and our God, would double his spirit upon
‘your highness, guide and prosper all your councils and
‘undertakings for his own glory, with your highness
‘and this commonwealths good. So hopes and prays
‘your highness’s most humble and faithful subjects and
‘servants (r).’

(r) Mercurius Politicus, No. 545, p. 74.

The rest of the addresses were much in the same strain; which, as the addresses in after-times, though they seem to promise much, had little real meaning, and in times of trial were nothing to be relied on; as the event soon shewed.

Whilst we are on the subject of congratulations, it will not be improper to observe, that the Muses were not silent on *Richard’s* accession. The same pens that rehearsed the praises of the late protector, were employed in pointing out the virtues of the successor, and, which was the greatest thing that could be then said, equalling him to his father :

‘Ecce! novus Cromvellus adest è funere patris,
‘Phoenix de phœnice novo reparabilis ævo.
‘Hic tua bella geret, pacem legesque fovebit,
‘Ille reformatæ fidei tutela perennis
‘Regnabit, sacris præstabit & otia musis.’

So sang Dr. Tuckney.

Mr.

in which they held him. Nor did they
rest

Mr. *Preston*, of *Sydney* college, *Cambridge*, wrote the following lines :

- ‘ Siste tuas tandem lacrymas, depone querelas,
- ‘ Anglia : defunctum quid juvet iste dolor ?
- ‘ Sol tuus occubuit ; verum nox nulla secuta est ;
- ‘ En ! micat in medio filius orbe patris.
- ‘ Disparere prior voluit, dum surgeret alter ;
- ‘ Quod natura simul non finit esse duos.
- ‘ Ecce, patris genius nato, ac heroicus ardor !
- ‘ Parte igitur moritur, sed meliore viget.
- ‘ Vive diu felix, patriæ virtutis imago
- ‘ Vive, decus magnum præsidiumque tuis.
- ‘ I bone quò virtus tua te vocat, i pede fausto ;
- ‘ Dum feriat vertex fidera summa tuus.
- ‘ Cingant usque tuos victricia ferta capillos ;
- ‘ Denique sis similis patris ubique tui.’

I will add but one more from the collection published on this occasion. It is anonymous.

- ‘ Scilicet, occubuit nuper *lux Magna Britannis*,
- ‘ Cùm subito nobis *tu* nova stella venis !
- ‘ Sic solitis radiis, discussa nube, refulget
- ‘ Sol ; ita luce nitet *Cassiopeia* novâ.
- ‘ Auspicete, *matris* quid non speremus alumni ?
- ‘ Pro tanto quæ non fundere vota licet ?
- ‘ Nonne ea nos petimus superos, ut *patris Oliva*
- ‘ Floreat, & regnis usque fruarè tuis :
- ‘ Dum *lucem* *Grantana* dabit, dum *pocula* mater,
- ‘ Dum perget solitas reddere *Camus* aquas (s) ?

(s) Musarum Cantabrigienfium luctus & gratulatio. Cantab. Apud Field, 1658. 4to.

Were

rest here : — for in the intercourse held
between

Were poets to be believed, how amiable, how excellent, how admirable, in all respects, must princes be ! Unfortunately, however, their testimony is of little weight ; and facts are regarded more than the sons *Parnassus*. Princes should be careful, therefore, by good deeds and works of renown, to establish a reputation, and cause their names to live, when the works of flatterers will be no more in remembrance.

‘ The muse full oft pursues a meteor fire,
‘ And, vainly ventrous, soars on waxen wing.’

MASON.

Let us now go on with the history. ---- The army, in whose hands the disposal of the government in fact was, as, where a large army is kept up, it almost always is, were not behind in their addresses to the new Protector. Very soon after the death of *Oliver*, an address was presented by the officers of his highness’s armies in *England, Scotland, and Ireland*. It is so remarkable, on many accounts, that, I believe, the reader will not be displeased to see the whole of it. ----- It follows:

‘ May it please your highness,

‘ When we consider how God, the great and wise
‘ disposer of all things, hath by a long continued series
‘ of providence carried on his work in these nations by
‘ the hands of several instruments, making it manifestly

‘ to

between him and his allies, he had all the deference paid him which could be expected by a powerful sovereign of a noble

‘to prosper in the hands of all those that did heartily
‘own his cause and people, but most remarkably and
‘eminently in the hands of that man whom he had
‘chosen, your deceased father, whose memory shall be
‘blessed, and ever shall be had in particular remem-
‘brance amongst good men, as having been the great
‘assertor of the liberties of Gods people, an instrument
‘to restore these nations to peace, a lover of their
‘civil rights, and so indefatigable in his endeavours af-
‘ter reformation: the mentioning of whom, may well
‘strike our hearts with unconceivable sorrow and abase-
‘ment, to think that we by our sins have provoked the
‘God of all our mercies, to give us such a stroke by
‘taking from us the delight of our eyes, and, under
‘God, the captain of his people, upon whom the eyes
‘of foreign princes were fixed with reverence and ex-
‘pectation. O how gloriously did the Lord appear for
‘and with him in the midst of his people, making the
‘mountains to become a plain before him, and carrying
‘him upon the wings of faith and prayer, above all
‘difficulties and oppositions! How did the graces of
‘Gods spirit evidently shine before him! In his army,
‘he reckoned the choicest saints, his chiefest worthies:
‘in his family those that were near and dear to God,
‘were near and dear to him. His eyes were upon the
‘faithful of the land; to relieve many, advance some,

noble nation. And that nothing might be wanting to crown his felicity, the army, and the parliament by him assembled, took the

‘ to protect and countenance all. In the things of God
 ‘ he had a tender and large heart, to love all the saints,
 ‘ though of different judgments; he had great ac-
 ‘ quaintance with the Lord, mighty in faith and prayer,
 ‘ which made him so constant and glorious a victor.
 ‘ Your highness, your armies, and people reap the bene-
 ‘ fit of his prayers and successes. But, alas! this our
 ‘ *Moses* (your dear and blessed father) the servant of
 ‘ the Lord is dead: and shall we not weep? Though
 ‘ we weep not for him, yet we cannot but weep for
 ‘ ourselves; we cannot but look after him, crying,
 ‘ Our father, our father, the chariot of *Israel*, and the
 ‘ horsemen thereof. When we consider these things,
 ‘ we cannot but reverence the same Providence, in
 ‘ bringing your highness to succeed him in the govern-
 ‘ ment, with so much serenity and general consent and
 ‘ approbation of the people, when the enemy so stre-
 ‘ nuously endeavours to promote distraction and divi-
 ‘ sion. And we cannot but hope, though it hath
 ‘ pleased the Lord sharply to rebuke us, yet he will not
 ‘ cast us off, nor withdraw his fatherly affections from
 ‘ us, but in our returnings he will give us rest; and
 ‘ will enable your highness to carry that good old cause
 ‘ and interest of God and his people upon your heart
 ‘ continually, and then he will carry you as upon eagles
 ‘ wings, above the malice and wicked machinations
 ‘ of ungodly men, to do valiantly in *Israel*, in the fur-
 ‘ ther

the oath of fidelity to him ; and the latter
voted to recognize and declare him lord
protector

‘ther enlarging of the kingdom of *Jesus Christ* ; in
‘maintaining the Christian liberty of all sober godly
‘men, though of different opinions in some things, the
‘defending of the civil rights of the whole people of
‘these nations, and the reforming of all abuses. And
‘more particularly, that we may lay open our hearts
‘before you, we hope and pray that God will enable
‘your highness to endeavour, that the armies which
‘shall be thought fit to be kept up in the three na-
‘tions, may be continued and kept under the command
‘of such officers as are of honest godly principles, free
‘to adventure all that is dear unto them, by all lawful
‘ways and means to maintain an equal just liberty to
‘all persons that profess godliness, that are not of tur-
‘bulent spirits as to the peace of these nations, nor dis-
‘turbors of others, though differing in some things
‘from themselves, according to the true intent of the
‘*humble petition and advice*. That the vacancies in your
‘highness’s councils and other places of public trust, be
‘from time to time supplied and filled up with men of
‘known godliness and sober principles ; that they, with
‘your highness and your army, may make it their work
‘to carry the concernments of the godly in these na-
‘tions, and the civil rights of the people thereof upon
‘their hearts, with full purpose to maintain them ; and
‘that a work of reformation, tending to good life and
‘manners, may be vigorously carried on by the hands
‘of good magistrates ; and those things that are oppres-

protector and chief magistrate of the commonwealth of *England, Scotland, and Ireland,*

‘ five and vexatious to the people may be suppressed ;
 ‘ that the provision made for ejecting ignorant and insufficient ministers, and that for the approbation of ministers, tending to the bringing in of godly and able preachers into the several places in these nations, whereby poor and ignorant souls may be brought to the knowledge of the truth, may be owned and maintained in their power, according to the acts of parliament ; and that any who shall discourage or discountenance good ministers in these nations, by encouraging loose and prophane persons to oppose and slight them for not admitting such as are loose and prophane to the sacraments, may be discountenanced and punished. In your prosecution whereof, we hope that God will assist us to make it known to your highness and all the world, that we aim at no private interest nor ends of our own, but that we shall be heartily and faithfully with you, as we have been with your father, to adventure our lives and all that is dear to us, to stand by you ; these being the principles upon which we engaged with your blessed father, and were blessed of God in : and we trust God will direct your heart to be fixed and bottomed upon the same principles, which we are perswaded God will own you in, and bless us in standing by you against all that shall oppose you therein, or make it their design to change or alter the present government established in a single person, and two houses of parliament, according to the

land, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging (*d*).

(*d*) Journal, Feb. 18.

His

‘ the *humble petition and advice*, or shall endeavour the
 ‘ subversion thereof, or the disturbance of the peace of
 ‘ these nations. And we are confident you will have
 ‘ the concurrent help of the prayers and endeavours of
 ‘ the people of God, whereby your heart and hand will
 ‘ be strengthened to ride on prosperously, to the joy and
 ‘ rejoycing of all good men, and to the terror and dis-
 ‘ appointment of all your adversaries, when they shall
 ‘ perceive you inherit not only your fathers glory and
 ‘ and authority, but also the hearts of his old faithful
 ‘ followers; and (which crowns all) the blessing of
 ‘ God your father: which that it may be continued un-
 ‘ to you, and prosper you in all that you put your hand
 ‘ unto, is, and shall be, the continual prayers of

‘ Your Highness’s

‘ Most humble and loyal subjects (*t*).’

(*t*) Mercurius Politicus, No.

434, p. 844.

This address was presented Sept. 18, 1658, by *Fleetwood*, attended by a great body of the officers; and, we are told, ‘ his highness was pleased to make a re-
 ‘ turn to each particular of the address, and in such
 ‘ language, as gave full evidence of his being the in-
 ‘ heritor of his fathers princely wisdom, and of that af-
 ‘ fection which he bare to the nation in general, and the
 ‘ soldiery in particular; so that they all departed with
 ‘ very high satisfaction, and much assurance of enjoying

His reign, however, was but short. Animosities arose among those who were averse to the cause of *Charles* (cc), and
broils

(v) Id. p.
274.

‘ a happy government (u) ! ’ — Nor was this all : — A parliament being summoned to meet at *Westminster*, Jan. 17, 1558, O. S. every member of it took an oath, part of which was ‘ to be true and faithful to ‘ the lord protector of the commonwealth of *England*, ‘ *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging, as chief magistrate thereof; ‘ and not to contrive, design, or attempt any thing ‘ against the person, or lawful authority of the lord protector (x).’ — Thus firm, to every common eye, did *Richard* stand in the protectorate ! So little ground, in appearance, had *Charles* to expect any thing from the death of *Oliver* ! *Clarendon* owns, the King’s condition never appeared so hopeless, so desperate, as at this time : for, adds he, ‘ a more favourable conjuncture his friends could never expect than this ; which ‘ now seem’d to blast all their hopes, and confirm their ‘ utmost despair (y).’

(x) Journal of the
House of
Commons,
vol. vii. p.
593.

(y) Vol vi.
p. 655.

(cc) *Animosities arose among those who were averse to the cause of Charles.*] A calm state in a nation is generally esteemed a dangerous one; as it intimates great timidity, or deep design. Every thing, we have seen, looked well on *Richard*’s side : but it was appearance only. Money was scarce : divisions were in the council : and the chief officers in the army, though nearly related to the protector, very soon began to give him much trouble and uneasiness. They desired that they
might

broils were likely to ensue. *Richard*,
therefore,

might have a commander in chief under his highness : that no officer might be put out of his employment without a trial, according to the laws martial : and that the commander in chief might have power to give commissions to all inferior officers (z). *Richard*, though far enough from being pleased with these proposals, made *Fleetwood* lieutenant general of all the armies, and so in consequence commander in chief. This affair gave great uneasiness to the friends of *Richard*. Among others, we find *Henry Cromwell*, lord lieutenant of *Ireland*, in a letter to the protector, dated, Oct. 20, 1658, complaining in the following manner : ‘ If
‘ the account be true which I have received of the state
‘ of affairs in *England*, I cannot tell what to advise
‘ your highness upon this sad occasion, though I confess
‘ ’tis no more than I looked for. Only I had some
‘ hopes, it might have been prevented, by keeping all
‘ officers at their respective charges. But as things now
‘ stand, I doubt the flood is so strong, you can neither
‘ stem it, nor come to an anchor, but must be content
‘ to go adrift, and expect the ebb. I thought those
‘ whom my father had raised from nothing, would not
‘ so soon have forgot him, and endeavour to destroy his
‘ family, before he is in his grave. Why do I say I
‘ thought, when I know that ambition and affectation
‘ of empire never had any bounds? I cannot think
‘ these men will ever rest, till they are in the saddle;
‘ and we have of late years been so used to changes,
‘ that it will be but a nine days wonder. And yet I fear

(z) *Thurloe*, vol. vii.
p. 436.

therefore, whether through weakness or
wisdom,

‘there is no remedy, but what must be used gradually, and *pedetentim*. Sometimes I think of a parliament; but am doubtful whether sober men will adventure to embark themselves, when things are in so high a distraction; or if they would, whether the army can be restrained from forcing elections. I know not what to advise at this distance, unless I could hear all the arguments *pro* and *con*, upon a true state of the case; yet I am almost afraid to come to your highness, lest I should be kept there, and so your highness lose this army, which, for ought I know, is the only stay you have, though I cannot but earnestly desire it. I do also think it dangerous to write freely to your highness, or for you to do it to me, unless by a messenger, that will not be outwited, or corrupted; for I make no question, but that all the letters will be opened, which come either to or from your highness, which can be suspected to contain business (a).’ — Lord *Fauconberg* was *Henry’s* intelligencer. — A parliament, as we have seen, was called; though with great fears of the event. However, as much application and industry was used by the court, the returns, for the most part, were not disagreeable. — This parliament, which was composed of members chosen for *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and the other house, or house of lords, instituted by *Oliver*; though favourable to *Richard*, did not promote his interests and designs, or, to speak more properly, the interests and designs of his ministers, with

(a) Id. p.
453.

with that zeal and unanimity which was expected from them. The majority were staunch and to be depended on; ---- but among them were many able men, disposed to embroil matters as much as possible. These were of different principles. Royalists, consisting of the cavalier and presbyterian parties: and republicans, who had stood steady to their principles, and hated any thing resembling a monarchical state. These latter, having much experience, and excelling in the arts of government, suffered not a question to be carried by the courtiers without great opposition; and they soon gained so high a reputation in the house, that they were heard with attention and respect. For truth and eloquence, in conjunction, seldom fail of effect in popular assemblies, where men may be supposed to be in some degree uninfluenced by prejudice or self-interest. However, the court party almost always prevailed: so that, as *Ludlow*, who was a member, tells us, ‘all that could be done was only to lengthen out their debates, and to hang on the wheels of the chariot, that they might not be able to drive so furiously. By this means time was gained to infuse good principles into divers young gentlemen, who before had never been in any public assembly, in hopes that, though for the present their previous engagements should carry them against us, yet upon mature deliberation they might discover where their true interest lay. Neither were our endeavours without success. For having frequently held the house nine or ten days in debate before they could come to a question, many gentlemen, who came to *Westminster* prepossessed in favour of the court, confessed that the reasons of the commonwealth party

‘ were

(b) Ludlow,
vol. ii. p.
624. 8vo.

‘ were so cogent, that they were not able to resist them (b).’

But, had the parliament been continued, Mr. *Bethel*, who was also a member, very plainly tells us, ‘ the opposition to *Richard* would have been ineffectual. All that the country party could do (though they shewed such abilities, industry, and affection to their country, as is worthy for ever to be remembered) was to keep off slavery for a small time (in hopes that God would send deliverance) without power of doing any more good, than in sometimes getting a qualifying word in to a question : for had the parliament sat longer, the country party could not have preserved the liberties of the nation many weeks longer from the ruine that the courtiers had designed (c).’ — Whilst the parliament

(c) Brief
Narrative of
the Parlia-
ment, called
by Richard
Cromwell,
at the end of
his Interest of
princes.
Lond. 1689.

were debating about the house of lords, as constituted by *Oliver*; the form and manner of recognizing *Richard*; and many other affairs of high importance; --- a humble representation and petition of the general council of officers of the armies of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, was presented to the protector; in which, in very strong terms, they represented their fears, their dangers, and their distresses for want of pay: and, in conclusion, added, ‘ We humbly pray, that your highness, taking into your serious consideration the sad condition of the armies, and danger of the nations, both from the great want of pay and the activity of our common enemy, will be pleased to represent these things, which we have herein laid before your highness, to the parliament, with our humble desire and prayer that a speedy supply be made for the armies; that their past ar-

‘ rear

' rear may be satisfied, and care taken for their constant
 ' future pay, so long as it shall be thought fit to conti-
 ' nue them; as also that satisfaction be given to the
 ' militia forces; and that there may be such a public
 ' asserting of our good old cause, and justification and
 ' confirmation of all proceedings in prosecution and
 ' maintenance thereof, and declaration against its ene-
 ' mies, as may, for the future, deter all persons from
 speaking or attempting any thing to the prejudice there-
 ' of, or of the persons that have acted in prosecution of
 ' it, and afford present security to the civil and religious
 ' rights and liberties of these nations, and the peace
 ' thereof; and that the liberty of good and well-affected
 ' people, in repairing with freedom to their meetings,
 ' for the worship of God (of late much violated by in-
 ' diting and imprisoning many of their persons), may be
 ' still asserted and vindicated (*d*).’ This petition being
 looked on as a kind of threatening to the court, it pro-
 duced the following resolutions in parliament, *Ap.* 18,
 1659.

(*d*) Parlia-
 mentary
 History, vol.
 xxi. p. 344.

' *Resolved, &c.* That, during the sitting of the par-
 ' liament, there shall be no general council or meeting
 ' of the officers of the army, without the direction,
 ' leave, and authority of his highness the lord protec-
 ' tor, and both houses of parliament.

' *Resolved, &c.* That no person shall have or conti-
 ' nue any command or trust in any of the armies or na-
 ' vies of *England, Scotland, or Ireland*, or any of the
 ' dominions or territories thereto belonging, who shall
 ' refuse to subscribe, that he will not disturb nor inter-
 ' rupt the free meetings in parliament of any of the
 ' members

‘ members of either house of parliament, or their freedom in their debates and counsels.

‘ *Resolved, &c.* That the concurrence of the other house, be desired to these votes: and that Mr. *John Stevens* do carry the same to the other house for their concurrence.

‘ *Resolved, &c.* That the house will take into consideration, to-morrow morning, how the arrears of the
(e) Journal. ‘ armies and navies may be speedily satisfied (e).’

These were bold votes, as matters were circumstanced: but as the army had thought fit to dictate, nothing remained for the parliament but to shew their dissatisfaction, and to declare the unreasonableness of such proceedings. The chief officers of the army were soon informed of what had passed in the house, and determined to be revenged. For which purpose, *Desbrowe* went to the protector, and told him, ‘ if he would dissolve his parliament, the officers would take care of him; but that if he refused so to do, they would do it without him, and leave him to shift for himself (f).’ — *Richard* hereupon ‘ advised with the Lord *Broghill*, *Fiennes*, *Thurloe*, *Wolfey*, *Whitlock*, and some others, whether it were not fit to dissolve the present parliament; most of them were for it; I,’ says *Whitlock*, ‘ doubted the success of it, and wished a little longer permission of their sitting, especially now they had begun to consider of raising money, whereby they would engage the soldiery; but most were for the dissolving of the parliament, in regard of the present great dangers from them, and from the cavaliers who now flocked to *London*, and underhand fomented the divisions (g).’ — The parliament, accordingly, was dissolved *April 22, 1659*, and the soldiery

(f) *Ludlow*, vol. ii.
p. 641.

(g) *Memorials*, p.
677.

diery became soon masters; who very soon discarded *Richard*, and published a declaration, inviting the members of the long parliament, who continued sitting till April 20th, 1653, to return to the exercise and discharge of their trust. — What relates farther to *Richard* will be found in the note following. — *Mountague's* [afterwards *Lord Sandwich*] account of the overthrow of *Richard's* government, will be no improper supplement to what is before related. — ‘I have spoken,’ says he, ‘with one who was at *London* in the most intimate councils about pulling down *Richard*, and am assured that General *Moncke* was applied to in *Scotland* to stick unto *Richard*, and was offered to have twenty thousand pounds *per annum* settled upon him; and he would not be engaged, but sent word, that the said revenue would do *Richard* more good than his sticking to him. Further I am assured, that notwithstanding the abovesaid, yet *Richards* party wanted not power to have suppressed *Fleetwood* and *Desbrowe*, and over-ruled the army; but then it must have been by the Lord *Falconberg*, the Earl of *Carlisle*, myself, Colonel *Ingoldby*, and others, who they thought would certainly bring in the King; which at that time they chose to shift off to the very last extremity. Then they let in *Vane* and *Heselrigge*, *Nevil*, and other commonwealths men, upon fair promises from them not to overturn the government; but they proved perfidious, and brought in the Rump; which inconvenience might have been prevented, if *Richard* had not dissolved, but prorogued his parliament, for a few months. For that parliament had much of the interest of the
‘ nation

wisdom, quietly resigned the government (DD), and thereby prevented the effu-

‘ nation in it: and though the Rump should have got
 ‘ into the saddle, yet that parliament interest would
 ‘ have procured it to meet again in despite of all op-
 ‘ position. So as the dissolving that parliament is held
 ‘ the great and fundamental error of that alteration of
 ‘ government (b).’

(b) MS.
 Journal of
 Sir Edward
 Mountague,
 in Sept.
 1659. fol.

(DD) Richard, *through weakness or wisdom, resigned the government.*] The members of the long parliament, who formed the commonwealth government, and performed deeds of renown superior to any government that was before them in *Britain*, upon the invitation of *Fleetwood*, returned to their house, and applied themselves, in their wonted manner, to the business of the nation. Among these, as well as among the officers of the army, who had taken on them to pull down and to set up, the family of *Oliver* had some friends, who thought it but reasonable that a handsome allowance should be given them by the state, in acknowledgment of his merits, and their own deserts from the commonwealth. General *Moncke*, in a letter, signed by himself, and the chief officers of the army in *Scotland*, written to General *Fleetwood*, to be communicated to the general council of officers at *Wallingford-house*, says, ‘ Seeing his late highness [*Richard*]
 ‘ hath been pleased to manifest soe much self-deniall and
 ‘ love to his country, in appearing for the interest hereof
 ‘ against his owne, in this great day of change, we earnest-
 ‘ ly intreat you that you will use your endeavours, with
 ‘ affec-

effusion of blood, and the calamities of
his

‘ affectionate care and industry, that himself and family (together with her highness dowager) may have soe honourable a provision settled upon them, and such other dignities, as are suitable to the former great services of that familie to these nations (i).’ And the officers of the *English* army, at a meeting with some leading members of parliament, in order to their re-establishment in the government, having ‘ proposed that some provision of power might be made for Mr. *Richard Cromwell*, as well as for the payment of his debts, and future subsistence in a plentiful manner, they having promised to take care of him in these particulars ;’ it was agreed by the members present, ‘ that those debts which he had contracted on the public account should be paid, that so he might be enabled to subsist comfortably, though they would by no means consent to continue any part of his late assumed power (k).’ In conformity to this agreement, ‘ was ‘ referred by the parliament of the commonwealth of *England*, May 16, 1659, to the members of parliament that are of the committee of safety, to take into consideration the present condition of the eldest son of the late Lord General *Cromwell*; and to inform themselves what his estate is; and what his debts are; and how they have been contracted; and how far he doth acquiesce in the government of this commonwealth, as it is declared by this parliament; and to offer upon the whole, what they conceive expedient in his behalf to the parliament (l).’

(i) *Thurloe*, vol. vii.
p. 669.

(k) *Ludlow*, vol. ii.
p. 646.

(l) *Journal*.

Accord-

his people. — The commonwealth government,

Accordingly, on the 25th of the same month, Sir *Gilbert Pickering* acquainted the house, that he, and the Lord Chief Justice *St. John*, did, according to the command of the house, repair to the eldest son of the late Lord General *Cromwell*; and acquainted him with the sense of the house, touching his subscribing a paper sent by him to a committee formerly appointed to communicate to him a declaration and order of the house: and that he did thereupon, in their presence, sign the said paper with his name; and presented the said paper to the house, subscribed, *Richard Cromwell*.

The said paper was read; and also a schedule*, containing

* By this schedule it appeared, that when Oliver	<i>L. S. D.</i>
died, he owed — — —	28000 0 0
Since which Richard had reduced it to — —	23550 0 0
And had advanced to the soldiers, for cloathing, &c. — — —	3700 0 0
And borrowed, on his personal security, for the supply of Dunkirk, — — —	6090 0 0
Sum total,	29640 0 0

His real estate was (including 3201l. 17s. 9d. per annum, settled on his brother Henry upon marriage; and 1200l. per annum, settled for security of 15000l. for a portion to his sister Frances), per annum, — — —	7319 10 1
--	-----------

Out of which there was payable, yearly, to his mother, — — — —	2000 0 0
And several annuities, to the amount of — — —	818 0 0
So that there remained clear to him, per annum, —	2818 0 0

Which

vernment, consisting of those members
of

containing a true state of his debts ; and how they were contracted. The paper was as followeth : ‘ I have per-
‘ used the resolve and declaration, which you were
‘ pleased to deliver to me the other night ; and for
‘ your information touching what is mentioned in the
‘ resolve, I have caused a true state of my debts to be
‘ transcribed and annexed to this paper : which will
‘ shew what they are, and how they have been con-
‘ tracted. As to that part of the resolve, whereby the
‘ committee are to inform themselves, how far I do ac-
‘ quiesce in the government of this commonwealth, as
‘ it is declared by this parliament ; I trust, my past car-
‘ riage hitherto hath manifested my acquiescence in the
‘ will and disposition of God ; and that I love and va-
‘ lue the peace of this commonwealth much above my
‘ own concerns : and I desire that by this a measure of
‘ my future deportment may be taken ; which, through
‘ the assistance of God, shall be such as shall bear the
‘ same witness ; having, I hope, in some degree, learn-
‘ ed rather to reverence and submit to the hand of God,
‘ than to be unquiet under it : and as to the late pro-
‘ vidences that have fallen out amongst us, however,

Which was incumbered with a debt of 3000l. contracted in his
father’s life-time, and then unpaid *. (*) Journal.

N. B. The miscasting in the debts is in the Journal.

We may judge, by this, that Oliver had not been very intent
on enriching his family ; since, doubtless, double his wealth has
been amassed, since his time, by men sprung from the dunghill,
in many departments of government.

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P

in

the house of commons, who had been
turned

‘ in respect to the particular engagements that lay upon
‘ me, I could not be active in making a change in
‘ the government of these nations; yet, through the
‘ goodness of God, I can freely acquiesce in it, being
‘ made; and behold myself obliged, as (with other men)
‘ I expect protection from the present government, so to
‘ demean myself with all peaceableness under it; and
‘ to procure, to the uttermost of my power, that all,
‘ in whom I have any interest, do the same.

‘ RICHARD CROMWELL.’

‘ Hereupon the parliament declared, that they did ac-
‘ cept in good part, what is expressed in the said pa-
‘ per; and in testimony thereof did put in oblivion, all
‘ matters past in reference to the said *Richard Cromwell*;
‘ and did take upon them his just debts; and did think
‘ fit that he retire from *Whitehall*, and dispose of him-
‘ self as his private occasions might require, in a peace-
‘ able demeanour of himself, under the protection of
‘ the parliament. Two thousand pounds were ordered
‘ also forthwith to be advanced for his present occa-
‘ sions; and it was referred to a committee, to consi-
‘ der what was fit to be done as to a settlement of a
(m) Journal. ‘ comfortable and honourable for him (m).’ The com-
mittee appointed delivered their opinion, *July 6th*,
‘ that the present clear yearly value of the said *Richard*
‘ *Cromwell* (which according to the schedule presented
‘ in parliament amounts to one thousand two hundred

turned out by *Cromwell*, after having,
by

‘ ninety nine pounds, over and above the jointure and
‘ annuities mentioned in the said schedule) be made up
‘ unto him ten thousand pounds *per annum*, during his
‘ life: and in order thereto, that the sum of eight thou-
‘ sand seven hundred pounds *per annum* be settled upon
‘ the said *Richard Cromwell*, during his life, for his sub-
‘ sistence, to be issued and paid unto him monthly, by
‘ equal portions, out of the proceed or revenue of the
‘ letter or packet-office; and that the whole revenue of
‘ the said office be charged with the due payment of the
‘ same:

‘ That lands of inheritance, of the value of five thou-
‘ sand pounds *per annum*, of the lands in the dispose of
‘ the commonwealth of *England* or *Ireland*, be settled
‘ upon the said *Richard Cromwell*, and his heirs, in fee:

‘ That when lands of inheritance, of the value of
‘ five thousand pounds *per annum*, be settled upon the
‘ said *Richard Cromwell*, and his heirs, according to the
‘ purport of the next precedent vote; and that the said
‘ *Richard Cromwell* be in the actual possession thereof;
‘ that then the sum of five thousand pounds *per annum*,
‘ part of the said sum of eight thousand seven hundred
‘ *per annum*, be charged upon the packet-office (ac-
‘ cording to the fore-recited vote of this committee),
‘ be abated; and the said office thereof discharged
‘ for the future:

‘ That the first monthly payment of the said yearly
‘ sum of eight thousand seven hundred pounds, to be

by deeds of peace and war, carried
the

‘ charged on the said packet-office, according to the
‘ precedent votes, amounting to the sum of seven hun-
‘ dred twenty five pounds, to be paid unto the said
‘ *Richard Cromwell*, upon the 6th of *June* last, 1659,
‘ for one month, commencing the 6th day of *May* last,
‘ and ending the said 6th day of *June*; and the said
‘ monthly payments to continue payable upon every
‘ sixth day of every month for the future, according
‘ to the purport of the said former votes :

‘ That as the jointures and annuities in the said
‘ schedule mentioned shall abate, by the decease of any
‘ of the respective persons to whom the same are respec-
‘ tively payable, whereby the income of the real estate
‘ of the said *Richard Cromwell* shall be increased, the
‘ said yearly charge of eight thousand seven hundred
‘ pounds, to be settled upon the said office for his sub-
‘ sistence, be proportionably abated.

‘ *Resolved*, That the debt stated, and undertaken to
‘ be paid, by the parliament, for *Richard Cromwell*,
‘ eldest son of the late Lord General *Cromwell*, be
‘ twenty nine thousand six hundred and forty pounds.

‘ *Ordered*, That the said debt be satisfied by sale of
‘ the plate, hangings, goods, and furniture in *Whitehall*
‘ and *Hampton Court*, belonging to the state, which
‘ may conveniently be spared : and that the same be
‘ forthwith sold, for payment thereof, accordingly.

‘ *Ordered*, That Mr. *Raleigh* [son and heir of Sir
‘ *Walter*], Colonel *Dove*, Mr. *Robinson*, Mr. *Scot*, Mr.
‘ *Dormer*,

the glory of the *English* name to the
greatest

‘ *Dormer*, be added to the committee, to examine what
‘ goods in *Whitehall*, *Hampton Court*, &c. belonged
‘ to the state: and that the said committee have fur-
‘ ther power to examine upon oath; and also to exa-
‘ mine what goods there were bought with the states
‘ money.

‘ *Ordered*, That it be referred to the said committee,
‘ to bring in an act for sale of the said plate, hang-
‘ ings, goods, and furniture, in *Whitehall*, and
‘ *Hampton Court*, for payment of the said debt of
‘ twenty nine thousand six hundred and forty pounds
‘ accordingly.

‘ *Resolved*, That the said *Richard Cromwell* shall be,
‘ and is hereby, acquitted, and absolutely discharged,
‘ from payment of the said debt of twenty nine thou-
‘ sand six hundred and forty pounds, and every part
‘ thereof, and of and from all actions, suits, and de-
‘ mands, for or by reason thereof, by the creditors;
‘ and that the state will satisfy the persons to whom the
‘ same is due.

‘ *Ordered*, That it be referred to the aforesaid com-
‘ mittee, to take a true survey of the mannors and lands
‘ of the eldest son of the late Lord General *Cromwell*;
‘ and to examine the true value thereof; and report
‘ the same, together with the act for sale of the plate
‘ and goods appointed to be sold, on *Thursday* morning
‘ next: and that the said committee have power to
‘ send for persons, papers, and records: and that Co-

greatest height, by the invitation of
Fleetwood

‘lonel *White*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, Mr. *Say*, and Co.
 (n) Journal. ‘lonel *Rich*, be added to that committee (n).’

The late protector, however, by reason of the after-
 changes, was nothing the better for these resolutions.

Richard, by reason of his quiet resignation, and sub-
 mission to the parliament, has been treated as a man
 ‘without spirit to discern what was best for him;’ as
 ‘extreamly pusillanimous : in fine, as ‘a fool, and a
 (o) Vol. vi. ‘sot:’ by such men as Lord *Clarendon* (o), and his copyists.
 p. 659, — But, in the name of common sense, what was
 683. there weak or foolish in laying down a burthen too
 heavy for the shoulders? What in preferring the peace
 and welfare of men, to blood and confusion, the ne-
 cessary consequences of retaining the government? Or
 what, in a word, in resigning the power to such, as,
 by experience, had been found fully equal to it, and in-
 tent on promoting the common welfare? Ambition,
 glory, fame, sound well in the ears of the vulgar; and
 men, excited by them, have seldom failed to figure in
 the eyes of the world: but the man who can divest
 himself of empire for the sake of his fellow men, must,
 in the eye of reason, be entitled to a much higher re-
 nown, than the purpled hero, who leads them on to
 slaughter, though provinces or kingdoms are gained to
 him thereby.

‘Ambition, cease: the idle contest end:
 ‘’Tis but a kingdom thou canst win or lose.

‘And

Fleetwood and the general officers, now
again

‘ And why must murder’d myriads lose their all,
‘ (If life be all) why desolation lour,
‘ With famish’d frown on this affrighted ball,
‘ That thou may’st flame the meteor of an hour?’

MASON.

Dr. *Calamy* tells us, ‘ that when a friend of his signified, in a way of free discourse, to Mr. *Howe* (who had been chaplain to *Oliver* and *Richard*, and was a man of sense and learning), that he had heard *Richard* reflected on as a weak man; he [*Howe*], with some warmth, made this return: How could he be a weak man, when upon the remonstrance that was brought from the army by his brother *Fleetwood*, he stood it out all night against his whole council, and continued the debate till four o’clock in the morning, having none but *Thurloe* to abet him; maintaining that the dissolving that parliament, would be both his ruin and theirs! Upon some farther discourse on the same subject, Mr. *Howe* told my friend, that *Fleetwood* undertook with great solemnity, that if *Richard* would but comply with the proposal that was made him, the army should not do him the least damage. And he added, that when *Fleetwood* was afterwards put in mind of this, all the answer he return’d was, that he thought he had had more interest in the army than he found he had. And Mr. *Howe* farther added, that accidentally meeting with Major General *Berry*, who

again took place, and was submitted to
and

(p) Life of
Howe, p.
25. 8vo.
Lond. 1724.

‘ was in these times so active and busy, sometime after
‘ the Restoration, when he was but in very mean cir-
‘ cumstances, he very freely told him, with tears run-
‘ ning down his cheeks, that if *Richard* had but at that
‘ time hanged up him, and nine or ten more, the na-
‘ tion might have been happy (p).’ — Mr. *Maid-
stone* describes ‘ *Richard* as a worthy person indeed, of
‘ an obliging nature and religious disposition, giving
‘ great respect to the best of persons, both ministers and
‘ others; and having to his lady a prudent, godly, prac-
‘ tical Christian. His entrance,’ says he, ‘ into the go-
‘ vernment, was with general satisfaction; having ac-
‘ ceptation with all sorts of people, and addressees from
‘ them importing so much. It was an amazing con-
‘ sideration to me (who, out of the experience I had of
‘ the spirits of the people, did fear confusion would be-
‘ come *Oliver’s* successor) to see my fears so con-
‘ futed; though, alas! the sin of *England* soon shewed,
‘ that they were not vain fears. For in a short time,
‘ some actings in the army appeared tending to divest
‘ the protector of the power of it. This bred some
‘ jealousy and unkindness betwixt him and the officers
‘ of it; but it was allayed, and things looked fayre
‘ again. About this time writs were sent out to sum-
‘ mons a parliament, which accordingly sat down in
‘ *March* following. The power of the protector, and
‘ that of the other house, was instantly controverted in
‘ the house of commons, which house consisted of a
‘ tripartite

' tripartite interest, viz. the protector's, the common-
 ' wealth's (as it was so called by some, though ground-
 ' lessly enough), and *Charles* the King of *Scots*; each party
 ' striving to carry an end their own design, syding one
 ' while with one, another while with another obstructed
 ' settlement, and acted nothing but what tended to
 ' leave religion and sobriety naked of protection. The
 ' vigilant army observed this, and disposed themselves to
 ' prevent this growing evil: in order to it, keep gene-
 ' ral councils, publish remonstrances, and make ad-
 ' dresses. The parliament, fearing the co-ordinacy (at
 ' least) of a military power with the civil, forbid the
 ' meetings of the army. The army resent this so ill, as
 ' by a violent impresson they prevail with the protector
 ' to dissolve the parliament. This he did *animo tam*
 ' *reluctanti*, that he could not conceal his repentance of
 ' it, but it breake out upon all occasions. The army
 ' observing it, reflected on him as a person true to the ci-
 ' vil interest, and not fixed to them; and the officers
 ' keeping general councils, in a few days resolve to de-
 ' pose him, and restore the members of parliament dis-
 ' solved by the first protector, in the year 1653, to the
 ' exercise of their government again, in order (as they
 ' ridiculously stiled it) to the settling of a common-
 ' wealth (q). — *Richard* lived, privately, more than
 ' fifty years after his abdication; and died at *Cheshunt*,
 ' in *Hertfordshire*, July 12, 1712, in the 90th year of
 ' his age: and as he had done hurt to nobody, so no-
 ' body did ever study to hurt him, by a rare instance of
 ' the instability of human greatness, and of the security
 ' of innocence (r). — I cannot conclude this
 ' note

(q) *Thur-*
loc, vol. i.
 p. 766.

(r) *Burnet*,
 vol. i. p.
 83.

note without adding, that *Henry Cromwell*, lord lieutenant of *Ireland*, though indisputably a man of sense and address, who commanded an army by whom he was beloved, was possessed of like sentiments with the protector; and therefore, on the first notice, attended the parliament, to whom he had before quietly resigned, and betook himself to privacy and retirement, the usual resort of the wise, the disappointed, or the unhappy. Part of his resignation I will transcribe, as it conveys an idea of his true disposition. — ‘I now think it time,’ says he ‘(least a longer suspense should beget prejudiciall apprehensions in the minds of any), to give you this accompt, viz. that I acquiesce in the present way of government, although I cannot promise soe much affection to the late changes, as others very honestly may. For my own part, I can say, that I believe God was present in many of your administrations, before you were last interrupted, and may be soe again; to which end I hope that those worthy persons, who have lately acknowledged such their interrupting you in the year 1653 to have been their fault, will by that sense of their impatience be henceforth engaged to doe so no more, but bee the instruments of your defence, whilst you quietly search out the ways of our peace; which stability and freedom, when the Lord shall restore unto you, will much subdue the hearts of all peaceably minded persons to your authority. The fower yeers experience I have had of your army heere [*Ireland*] (even under those tryalls, which have provoked others) gives me just ground to assure you of their concurrence with their brethren in
England,

' *England*, in the way of obeying and defending, rather
 ' than of directing or awing you. I say, for my own
 ' part, I had an honourable opinion of the government
 ' you are now returned unto before its discontinuance ;
 ' and yet I must not deny, but that the free submission
 ' which many worthy, wise, and conscientious persons
 ' yeilded to the late government under a single person
 ' (by severall ways as well reall as verball) satisfied me
 ' also in that forme. And whereas my father (whom I
 ' hope you yett looke upon as no inconsiderable instru-
 ' ment of these nations freedome and happines), and
 ' since him my brother, were constituted chiefe in those
 ' administrations, and that the returning to another
 ' forme hath been looked upon as an indignity to those
 ' my nearest relations ; I cannot but acknowledge my
 ' owne weakness as to the sudden digesting thereof, and
 ' my owne unfitness to serve you in the carrying on
 ' your further superstructures upon that basis. And as
 ' I cannot promote any thing which inferrs the dimi-
 ' nution of my late fathers honor and merit ; soe I thank
 ' the Lord, for that hee hath kept me safe in the great
 ' temptation, wherewith I have beene assaulted to with-
 ' draw my affection from that cause wherein he lived
 ' and died. I have a tendernefs to peace, which (as I
 ' conceive depending rather on the worthiness of go-
 ' vernors than formes of government) renders me con-
 ' tent to wait upon Providence in the expectation of
 ' that mercy, being ready to yeild up my charge to any
 ' whom you shall send to receive itt ; and beseeching
 ' the Lord to bee your mighty Counsellor, and Prince
 ' of peace, I remain, &c.

H. CROMWELL (s).'

(EE) In-

(s) Thur-
 loe, vol. vii.
 p. 684.

and acknowledged. Insurrections, indeed, were planned in behalf of *Charles* (EE); but

(t) Vol. vi.
p. 661.

(EE) *Insurrections were planned in behalf of Charles, but they terminated only in the overthrow of such as appeared in them.*] ‘The return of the government into ‘these mens hands again,’ says *Clarendon*, ‘seem’d to ‘be the most dismal change that could happen, and to ‘pull up all the hopes of the King by the roots (t).’ And well, indeed, it might: for they instantly fell to business, and began to place the army and navy in such a condition as to render themselves respectable to all, as in times past. They were also acknowledged, by the commanders of the armies in the three kingdoms, as the supreme authority, and, as such, had addresses made them by the chief princes and states in *Europe*. And to settle and quiet the minds of men, a bill was ordered to be brought in for indemnity and oblivion; and it was moreover resolved, that the liberty of persons, and property of the estates, of all the free people of these nations, shall be maintained, preserved, and kept inviolable, according to law; under the government of a free state and commonwealth, without a single person, or house of lords. Moreover, that there shall be such a just and due regulation of the law, and courts of justice and equity, as that they shall be a protection, and not vexatious or oppressive, to the people of these nations. And that all persons, who profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit of God, co-
equal

but they terminated only in the overthrow

equal with the Father and the Son, One God blessed for ever; and do acknowledge the holy scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the revealed or written word or will of God; shall not be restrained from their profession, but have due encouragement, and equal protection, in the profession of their faith and exercise of religion; whilst they abuse not this liberty to the civil injury of others, or disturbance of others in their way of worship; so that this liberty be not extended to popery or prelacy, nor to such as shall practice or hold forth licentiousness or profaneness under the profession of religion: and that all laws, statutes, or ordinances, to the contrary, shall be declared null and void.

It was further resolved, that a godly, faithful, and painful gospel-preaching ministry, shall be every where encouraged, countenanced, and maintained.

That the universities, and schools of learning, shall be so countenanced and reformed, as that they may become the nurseries of piety and learning.

That to the end the legislative authority of this commonwealth may not, by their long sitting, become burthenome or inconvenient, there shall be effectual provision made for a due succession thereof (u).’ ----- Accordingly, Mr. *Scobel*, late clerk to the house, was ordered to search for a former ingrossed act, for a new representative of the people, which was passed under the protectorate of *Oliver* (x), though originally projected,

(u) See
Journal,
May, 1659.

(x) See
Historical
and Critical
Account of
Cromwell,
to
p. 288.

throw of such as appeared in them.
The

to their great honor, by this parliament. Whilst these things were in action for the good of the people, the government was alarmed with accounts of insurrections intended throughout the nation. They had one design, which was, to introduce the King of *Scots*, and restore the antient government; though they endeavoured to conceal it under popular pretences. Sir *George Booth* (the only man who put in execution his part of the scheme for a general insurrection), in a letter, dated, *August* the 2d, and printed and dispersed throughout the kingdom at that time, gives the reason of this engagement in the following manner: — ‘ Though the indifference that lies upon other mens spirits might flat-
‘ ours, yet we cannot think, but if it were represented
‘ unto them, how the present power doth oblige us to
‘ put out our right eyes when they require us to ac-
‘ knowledge them as a parliament, and lay upon us
‘ such heavy and grievous burdens, and such deceitful
‘ ones as a years tax in three months, besides the many
‘ other impositions of excise, &c. and by raising among
‘ us a militia, they cut off our right hand by subjecting
‘ us under the meanest and fanatic spirits of the nation,
‘ under pretence of protection, their spirits would be
‘ warmed into the same zeal that ours are kindled with.
‘ Now consider, what it is we ask; and consider, whe-
‘ ther it be not the same thing we have asserted with
‘ our lives and fortunes, a free parliament? And what
‘ a slavery is it to our understanding, that these men,
‘ that now call themselves a parliament, should declare
‘ it

The hopes of the royalists hereupon
seemed

‘ it an act of illegality and violence in the late aspiring
‘ General *Cromwell* to dissolve their body in 1653, and
‘ not to make it the like in the garbling the whole
‘ body of the parliament from 400 to 40, in 1648;
‘ what is this but to act what they condemn in
‘ others? Why do they associate themselves to the
‘ present army, or, indeed, to the present commanders
‘ in chief, and keep out their numerous and fellow-
‘ members, if committing violence upon a parliament
‘ be so notorious a crime? And how do they teach
‘ the soldiers boldly to do that which themselves prac-
‘ tice, and make them instruments of? What is this
‘ but, under another shape, to over-act the condemned
‘ acts of usurpation and tyranny in their old general?
‘ What is this but to necessitate men to complain?
‘ And, upon complaint, to be invaded by their power,
‘ so to raise (if the *English* spirits be not dissolved into
‘ baseness and aptitude for slavery) a civil war, and to
‘ endeavour to water their own root with the blood of
‘ many thousands of their countrymen, or to gape after
‘ those confiscations, which, by a victory, upon the
‘ presumption of the unity of their army, they hope to
‘ gain over all those that dare, with danger, assert
‘ their liberties; which presumption may yet fail them;
‘ for the soldier hath and may declare himself no mer-
‘ cenary, but an *English* freeman; which, indeed, tho’
‘ it be now contrary to his actions, may return to his
‘ thoughts again. And what will be the issue of all this?

‘ A mean

seemed to be, more than ever, blasted:
but

‘ A mean and schismatical party must depress the nobility and understanding commons ; the land must waste itself ; and foreigners, or others, must take the advantage of all. I dare say, I profess for myself and the greatest part with me, we have no aspect but this singly ; that we be not possessed as waste ground is, only by the title of occupancy, or that the next that gets into the saddle ride us. Let the nation freely chuse their representatives, and they as freely sit, without awe or force of soldiery ; and whatever in such an assembly is determined, shall be by us freely and chearfully submitted unto. If this satisfy you, I am glad of it ; for you are my noble friend. I use it not as artifice, either to engage you or make other counties follow our example ; which if they do not, let their posterity judge of their actions and ours : for we are born for our country ; and our country, our religion, and our lives, are in danger, and we will not be unconcerned. But we are peaceful and faithful in the land ; and if they in authority will decline hostility, and agree of a means to admit the old members of both houses, or to call a new free parliament, let him be, and he only is truly, a traitor that resolves not his judgment and obedience into their determinations (y).’ — If the reader will compare this with Lord *Clarendon’s* (z) account of *Booth’s* declaration, he will see what a happy talent his lordship had at invention. — The admission of the old members of both houses, or the calling of a new and free parliament,

(y) *Parliamentary History*, vol. xxiii. p. 170.

(z) Vol. vi. p. 672.

but their enemies did that for them,
which

ment, were popular topics. They had the shew of much justice and equity; and were acceptable to the body of the people, who looked on the exclusion, in 1648, as a tyrannical and unjust act, and incapable of a proper justification: but, at the same time, it must be confessed, the petition for their restoration was nothing more, nor less, than requesting the commonwealth governors to destroy themselves, by giving up their power into the hands of those who would not fail to use it against them. Besides, — the excluded members, being presbyterians for the most part, were violently addicted to the royal cause, and were intent on restoring the exiled prince: a calamity this, in the eyes of the present parliament, of all others, the most dreadful; as it seemed to include in it the subversion of that liberty for which they had so gloriously and successfully fought: the re-establishment of arbitrary power in the state: and tyranny over the consciences of men, whether the church fell under the direction of prelates or presbyters. The parliament, indeed, were but too well acquainted with their actions and designs, to be imposed on by fair speeches: for on the 9th of *August*, 1659, Sir *James Harrington* reported in the house, from the council of state, ‘that as well by letters, as messengers express, that are come out of *Cheshire*, the council hath certain information, that *Charles Stuart*, by the name of *Charles* the Second, hath been proclaimed at *Wrexham*, a market town, and other
Vol. I. Q ‘places,

which they were incapable of doing for them.

‘ places, near *Chester* : and that many of the cavaliers
 ‘ in the first war are joined with Sir *George Booth*, in
 ‘ the late insurrection ; and do already fall to their
 ‘ wonted profane courses of drinking healths openly to
 ‘ *Charles Stuart* upon the bare knees, and declare them-
 ‘ selves in the principles of the old cavaliers, whatever
 ‘ other disguises for the present are put upon their de-
 ‘ sign, to the misguiding of many good people (a).’
 (a) Journal. We are not to wonder, therefore, that, instead of com-
 plying with these demands, a body of soldiers were sent to
 quell the insurgents, and restore the public tranquillity.
 This was easily done : for, though many had made pro-
 mises of rising in various parts of the kingdom on the
 same day with Sir *George Booth* ; yet, as I have just ob-
 served, they all failed, and left him alone to fight it
 out with *Lambert*, whom the parliament appointed Ge-
 neral of the forces sent against him. The coun-
 try were much in his interest ; but the men who joined
 him were raw and unexperienced : the commanders un-
 skilful ; and ammunition scarce : so that when they en-
 gaged with the parliament forces at *Namptwich*, many
 of them had no match, others no ball. So that, ac-
 cording to Lord *Mordaunt’s* account, ‘ the battle was
 ‘ never fought ; for the foot saved themselves in the in-
 ‘ closures, and the horse trotted away : which,’ adds
 he, ‘ is the civilest term for it (b).’ *Lambert’s* account
 is far from being so disadvantageous to *Booth’s* men, as
Mordaunt’s ---- He tells the speaker, in a letter giving
 an account of his victory, ‘ that the horse on both sides
 ‘ performed

(b) Or.
monde’s Pa-
pers, vol. ii.
 P. 199.

themselves. The government, so lately restored,

‘performed like *Englishmen*; but ours got the better, and the enemy turned their backs. We had the pursuit of them above a quarter of a mile, where they again made head, but were routed; whereupon their horse and foot fled on all hands, and our work was only to give them chase. — *Lambert* had but one man killed, and not above three dangerously wounded. *Booth* had about thirty slain, and three hundred made prisoners*.’ *Booth* was soon after taken, and committed to the *Tower* for high treason: and it was ‘resolved, that no person be suffered to speak with him, without leave of the parliament, or by their direction; and that he be kept from having the use of pen, ink, or paper. It was also ordered, that *Vane* and *Hastig* should repair to the *Tower*, and examine him (c).’

(c) Journal, Aug. 24, 1659.

On the suppression of this rebellion, as the Journals stile it, a declaration was published to invite the good people of these nations to give thanks to the Lord, for his unspeakable mercy for this great deliverance: an act was reported for seizing and sequestering the estates of persons in the late rebellion: and *Lambert* was authorized and required to seize and secure all the arms and ammunition in *Lancashire*, *Cheshire*, *Derbyshire*, and parts adjacent, of all such persons as have not assisted

* The Lord Lambert's letter to the Right Hon. the Speaker of the Parliament, concerning the victory of the Commonwealth forces over the Rebels under Sir George Booth. 4to. Lond. Printed for Tho. Newcomb, 1659.

restored, was again interrupted by the
army,

to suppress the rebellion. A proclamation was also issued out against such persons as were suspected to have been engaged in, or privy to, any of the intended insurrections (*d*). In pursuance hereof, the Duke of *Bucks*, the Lords *De la Ware*, *Oxford*, and *Falkland*, were apprehended, upon suspicion of being in the present plot; and they were all sent to prison, except the Duke of *Bucks* (*e*). — *Lambert*, for his good service, had the thanks of the house, and a jewel of a thousand pounds value bestowed on him. Such were the rewards of valour and conduct! The public, perhaps, had as much zeal exerted in its service then, as since large pensions have been settled on commanders in chief and their children! --- Thus ended this insurrection, from which *Charles* had been induced to expect so much, that he went from *Brussels* to *Calais*, incognito, attended by *Ormonde* and *Bristol*, to be at hand, on the success of the affair, to head his adherents. --- ‘The parliament, on the suppression of this insurrection, seemed now to be in as absolute possession of the government of the three nations,’ says *Clarendon*, ‘as ever *Cromwell* had been (*f*).’ And *Ludlow* tells us, ‘that from the sad consideration of these and other unsuccessful attempts, the cavalier party, and those that sided with them, began to despair, and to give their cause for lost, unless, by divisions among ourselves, we should render our victories useless to us: which fell out sooner than they expected (*g*).’ --- The Lord Chancellor *Hyde*, in
a letter

(*d*) See
Journals,
Aug. 19---
27.

(*e*) Whit-
lock, p. 682.

(*f*) Vol.
vi. p. 675.

(*g*) Vol. ii.
p. 694.

a letter to Doctor *Barwick*, dated, 26 Sept. 1659, speaking of this defeat of the royalists, says, 'I shall not trouble you, nor myself, with discoursing upon the late misfortunes and misadventures, of the grounds whereof I am totally ignorant, more than what relates to the treachery of one ill man [Sir *Richard Willis*], and how that should make so many persons fail in their undertakings I cannot comprehend (b).' This ill man bears much blame in *Echard* (i) and *Clarendon's* (k) histories; and we have some very pretty well-told tales concerning his treachery, and the means of its discovery by Mr. afterwards Sir *Samuel Morland*, undersecretary to *Thurloe*. But the great misfortune is, their tales are, like most other tales, not founded in truth, and, consequently, are undeserving of credit. That this is not spoken at random, will appear from the following letter from Mr. *Morland* to Sir *Richard Willis*, dated the first of *March*, 1660, N. S. which was little more than two months before the Restoration:

'Sir, Whereas I have heard how much you have suffered by a libel, bearing date the 3d of *June*, 1659, charging you with a private correspondence with Mr. Secretary *Thurloe* and his creatures, and that I particularly was since in *Flanders* in person, to inform the King of the particulars, by shewing him letters of yours and receipts for money; I think myself obliged, though a stranger to you, to be so far assisting to your vindication, as to declare and profess, that I was never in any part of *Flanders* in all my life, nor with the King beyond sea upon that or any other account; nor did ever shew him (as is aforesaid) any such letters

Q 3

' or

(b) *Barwick's Life*,
p. 208.

(i) *Hist.*
of England,
vol. ii. fol.
p. 805.

Lond. 1718.

(k) *Vol.*
vi. p. 667.

army (FF), who had promised them all fidelity.

‘ or bills of receipt for any moneys whatsoever. And so
 ‘ far was I from being in any capacity of informing
 ‘ against you as aforesaid, that I do profess, I knew not
 ‘ so much as your name ; neither was I ever present at
 ‘ any private conference between you and Mr. Secre-
 ‘ tary *Thurloe* : which upon all occasions shall be con-
 ‘ stantly attested by, Sir, your most humble servant,

‘ S. MORLAND (1).’

(1) *Thurloe's Life*,
 prefixed to
 his State Pa-
 pers.

Happy is it for the lovers of historic truth, that there are so many authentic papers preserved !

(FF) *The government was again interrupted by the army.*] The army had confessed, in their declaration inviting the members to return to the exercise and discharge of their trusts, that they had contributed to the state in which things were, ‘ by wandering divers ways ‘ from righteous and equal paths.’ The meaning of which was, that they had been blame-worthy in assisting *Cromwell* to overthrow the commonwealth, and assume the supreme power. In order to atone for this their offence, they earnestly desired the parliament to return to the government, from which, by force, they had been ejected ; and promised to yield them their utmost assistance to sit in safety. — In consequence of this the house met, and received great civility, and much seeming respect, from the armies of *England* and *Scotland*. ‘ These passages,’ says *Whitlock*, ‘ gave the more ‘ hopes to many, that this parliament, thus restored, ‘ might be blessed of God, for settling the peace and li- ‘ berty c . . . nation ; and the more, because they were ‘ upon

fidelity. These men, actuated by ambition,

‘ upon the first right and foundation of that long parliament which had done so great things : and therefore divers were the better satisfied to go on with them (m).’ But jealousies soon arose between them and their restorers. The parliament was jealous of the army ; and the army was not pleased with the parliament, who, they thought, interfered too much in their affairs, by settling the officers of the respective regiments, and causing them to take out fresh commissions from the speaker in the house. After the defeat of *Booth*, by *Lambert*, the army began more openly to shew their inclinations to dictate to those to whom they so lately professed subjection. ‘ In the month of September, 1659,’ says *Ludlow*, ‘ a petition came to my hands, that had been addressed to the parliament, from the officers of that brigade which was commanded by Colonel *Lambert*, and signed from *Derby* ; wherein they aspersed the parliament, for not endeavouring to suppress the late rebellion with such vigour as they ought, for not punishing those who had been engaged in it, and for not rewarding the officers who had defeated the enemy. They pressed for a settlement of the government after their own mode, in a representative of the people, and a select senate. And for the better discovery of their arbitrary designs, they demanded that Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* might be made commander in chief of the army, without any limitation of time ; Colonel *Lambert* appointed major general, Colonel *Disbrowe* lieutenant general of the horse, and Colonel *Moncke* major general of the foot.

(m) Memorials, p. 678.

tion, and desirous of giving the law,
presented

(n) Vol. ii.
p. 698.

(o) Journals.

‘ To which they added, that no officer of the army
‘ should be dismissed from his command, unless by a court
‘ martial (n).’ — On the 22d of the same month, the
house being made acquainted with the effect of an ad-
dress intended to be made to the parliament by some of
army; it was ordered, ‘ that Colonel *Pierfon*, Colonel
‘ *Ashfield*, and Colonel *Cobbet*, be required forthwith,
‘ this afternoon, to bring to the parliament the original
‘ paper, or address (in their or one of their hands), in-
‘ tended by some of the army to be presented to the par-
‘ liament: and that the copy thereof, in the hands of
‘ Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, be also brought to this
‘ house, this afternoon.’ And *Fleetwood* was ordered to
give the Colonels notice of the said order (o). This
was accordingly done. The next day the house re-
sumed the debate; and, resolving it should be under
secrecy, it was declared by the house, ‘ that to have
‘ any more general officers in the army than are already
‘ settled by the parliament, is needless, chargeable, and
‘ dangerous to the commonwealth.’ — There was a
question also propounded, that some of the matters con-
tained in the petition and proposals of the officers just
mentioned, were unreasonable, and of dangerous con-
sequences; which passed in the negative. It was, how-
ever, referred to *Fleetwood* to communicate the vote of
the house to the officers of the army; and to admonish
them of this irregular proceeding; and to take care to
prevent any further proceedings therein by the soldiers.
But in order, if possible, to make them easy; it was
resolved, Oct. the 4th, ‘ that the arrears, due to the of-
‘ ficers and soldiers of the army, and also of the militia
‘ troops,

presented ‘a remonstrance and proposals,’
which

‘troops, shall be paid out of the moiety of such monies as shall be raised by the sale, or other disposition, of the estate of delinquents, sequestred, and to be sequestred, upon the late insurrection; and out of one moiety of the money to be raised by the sale of forests and chaces, excepting *New Forest* and the forest of *Deane*; and excepting such timber trees as shall be thought fit to be reserved for the service of the commonwealth: and that the other moiety of the money to be raised by the said delinquents estates, shall go to the use of the navy: and the other moiety of the forests shall go to the payment and satisfaction of the debt due upon the public faith (p).’ *Hampton Court, Somerset House*, and other things, were ordered likewise to be sold, and applied to the use of the navy. Great care, we see, is here used to please and oblige those in whose hands they were; and much caution not to burden the people with new impositions. A practice worthy of imitation! For while a number of useless, but very valuable, things are at hand, of which money may be made; it seems very unreasonable that the purses of mechanics and labourers should be drained, in order to maintain the pomp and luxury of persons in the higher ranks of life. ---- But to go on. ---- The officers, having notice given them, by *Fleetwood*, of the declaration of the house, and the censure passed on their proceedings; presented, what they called, ‘The humble representation and petition of the officers of the army, to the parliament of the commonwealth of *England*,’ by the hands of *Disbrowe*, accompanied
I with

(p) Journal.

which were deemed of too dangerous
a na-

with others of his brethren. This petition sets out very modestly, and is couched in terms of respect. It, however, asserts their good intentions with respect to the commonwealth; and attempts to vindicate the innocency of such officers as had signed the petition and proposals of the Northern brigade. They afterwards say, 'We cannot but esteem ourselves unhappy to have been so misrepresented to the parliament, as should occasion such a publicke admonition upon record: and considering what evil use may be made of these things by the publicke enemy, and to the end they may be disappointed of their hopes, and all such persons discouraged as shall go about for the future to promote jealousies, or by misinformation to beget divisions betwixt the parliament and their faithful servants the army, and that a good understanding may be preserved between them, we humbly pray,

' 1. That the officers of the army, and particularly those who have reason to bear the marks of your favour for their faithfulness in the late Northern expedition, may stand right in your opinion, and have your countenance,

' 2. That whatsoever person or persons shall, for the future, groundlessly and causelessly inform the house against your servants, thereby creating jealousies, and casting scandalous imputations upon them, may be brought to examination, justice, and condign punishment.

' 3. That it being an undoubted right of the people to have a liberty, in a peaceable and submissive way,
' to

a nature to be complied with by the
parli-

‘ to petition the supream authority, which liberty hath
‘ been by yourselves asserted, allowed, and approved of,
‘ we cannot also but assert the said liberty, and humbly
‘ conceive, that your faithful servants of the army have
‘ no way forfeited their rights as freemen: and that
‘ therefore they hope it will be no offence for them to
‘ submit their humble desires unto the parliament. And
‘ we hope and pray, you will not discourage them for so
‘ doing.

‘ 4. That you will be pleased to take into your serious
‘ consideration the necessitous condition of the poor sol-
‘ diers of your armies.

‘ 5. That such as owned and stood by you in the
‘ late insurrection, may have your encouragement, and
‘ be employed in places of trust and command.

‘ 6. That (it being a thing granted by all, that with-
‘ out due execution of martial discipline, the peace,
‘ union, and good government of an army cannot be
‘ preserved) the discipline of the army may be preserved
‘ inviolable; and, in particular, that no officer or sol-
‘ dier of your army may be cashiered, or dismissed from
‘ their places, without a due proceeding at a court mar-
‘ tial, or by his own consent, except in cases of reduce-
‘ ment or disbandings.

‘ 7. That (it being judged necessary by the parliament
‘ for the keeping of the army under such a conduct as
‘ may render the same serviceable to the common-
‘ wealth, to appoint a committee of nomination, for the
‘ proposing officers to the parliament for their approba-
‘ tion) we humbly pray, that no officers may be brought
‘ into

parliament, who therefore were judged foes, and as such treated by the army.

Many

‘ into the army, but such as shall come under the consideration of the said committee, and be by them presented.

‘ 8. The office of the commander in chief of the army, being of so great concernment to the peace of this commonwealth, and his commission at present (as we conceive) expiring within a few months; we humbly pray, that the consideration of that matter may come before you, and some such effectual course taken herein, as may prevent our fears, and the hazard of leaving the army in confusion,

‘ 9. And that you would retain a good opinion of your army, and, against all discouragements whatsoever, proceed in the carrying on of that work intrusted in your hands, for the glory of God, and advantage of these nations. In the prosecution whereof, through the help of our God, we shall be found (notwithstanding all endeavours to the contrary) faithful to you and this commonwealth *.’ — The parliament, by their speaker, gave the petitioners civil words; and let them know the care they had taken already of what concerned the soldiery, and their intentions of considering the other matters in their petition on a day mentioned. Accordingly, on the 9th of *October*, and the following days, the house resolved that the answers to the proposals of the army should be, ‘ That the officers

* True Narrative of the Proceedings in Parliament, Council of State, General Council of the Army, &c. Published by special order. Quarto. Lond. 1659. Printed by John Redmayne.

Many officers of note, however, remained

‘ of the army have received, and from time to time shall
‘ receive, marks of the favour of the parliament, and
‘ countenance answerable to their merit. — That it
‘ is the duty of all persons, especially of the members
‘ of parliament, to inform the house of any thing which,
‘ in their apprehension, may concern the public safety:
‘ and it is the undoubted right of the parliament, to
‘ receive and debate those informations; and to resolve
‘ what they think fit thereupon. ---- That every mem-
‘ ber of the army, as freemen of *England*, have right
‘ of petitioning the parliament; but thinks fit to let
‘ them know, that the petitioners ought to be very
‘ careful, both in the manner and in the matter of
‘ what they desire; that the way of promoting and
‘ presenting the same may be peaceable; and the
‘ things petitioned for not tending to the disturbance of
‘ the commonwealth, nor to the dishonor of the parli-
‘ ment: and that it is the duty of petitioners to sub-
‘ mit their desires to the parliament, and acquiesce in
‘ the judgment thereof. ---- That two months pay be
‘ forthwith paid to the officers and soldiers of the armies
‘ in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. ----- That such
‘ persons as have been faithful and active for the parlia-
‘ ment, in the late insurrection, the parliament will
‘ take care to give them all due encouragement.’ -----

Thus far the house proceeded on the 11th of *October*,
and on the same day passed a bill, which made it trea-
son to tax or assess the people without common consent
in parliament; and that immediate notice might be
taken of it, it was, at the same time, ordered to be

‘ printed

mained firm to them; and failed not to
put

(9) Journal.

printed and published (9). During these transactions, in order to awe the house into a proper compliance, the general officers of the army sent the representation and proposals abovementioned to the several regiments of the army, to be signed by the officers thereof. As this could not be long a secret, a letter, directed for Colonel Okey, and signed by the principal officers for this purpose, was produced in parliament the next day; which caused the following resolutions: 'That the
' several commissions of these several persons; viz.
' Colonel John Lambert, Colonel John Disborough, Colonel James Berry, Colonel Thomas Kelsy, Colonel Richard Ashfield, Colonel Ralph Cobbett, Major Richard Creed, Colonel William Packer, and Colonel Robert Barrow, who have subscribed the said letter, shall be,
' and are hereby, made void and null; and they, and
' every of them, be, and are hereby, discharged from
' all military employments.' It was resolved also, that the army should be governed by commissioners; and that some regiments, which they thought trust-worthy, should guard the parliament that night. — It was easy enough to vote and order all this in the house: but the chief officers loved too well their power, and their pay, to resign in consequence of it. And to let the house and the world see that they would not be controuled, on the following day, 'the late principal officers of the army,' says the Journal, 'whose commissions were vacated, drew up forces in and about Westminster, obstructed all passages both by land and water, stopped the speaker in his way, and placed and
' continued

put their brethren in remembrance of their faults ;

continued guards upon and about the doors of the parliament-house ; and so interrupted the members from coming to the house, and attending their service there.' — This interruption continued till the 26th of *December* following. The army, having now the power, constituted *Fleetwood* again commander in chief, *Lambert* major general of the forces of *England* and *Scotland*, and *Disbrowe* commissary general of the horse. A committee of safety was also appointed. It may be thought the parliament were rash and hasty in passing the votes which gave occasion to their interruption, as they had before experienced the lawless power of the army, and *Richard's* government had been just subverted by it. And possibly the matter was the result as much of heat, as of judgment. — But in favour of these proceedings, it may be observed, that the army was no more in the power of one man, as formerly ; that the army in *Ireland* was under the government of *Ludlow*, an able and determined republican ; that *Moncke* professed all manner of subjection to them, and, indeed, never did fall in with the *English* officers in this affair ; and, finally, that many commanders at home were strongly attached to them, and zealous in their cause, as will be seen in the ensuing note. — I will only add, that the committee of safety had all the powers of the late council of state : the power of bringing delinquents to punishment, and granting indemnity to such as had acted for the commonwealth : the power of suppressing insurrections : treating with foreign states : raising the militia ; disposing of offices : and of forfeited estates (r).

(r) See
Mercurius
Politicus,
No. 592,
p. 327.

(GG) *Many*

faults; who, on the other hand, as is usual in such cases, took on them to vindicate (GG) their behaviour. —

Hence

(GG) *Many officers of the army put their brethren in remembrance of their faults; who, in their turn, took on them to vindicate themselves.*] In a paper, intitled, ‘The humble Representation of Colonel Morley, and some other late Officers of the Army, to General Fleetwood,’ dated, Nov. 1, 1659, we have what follows: — ‘The good people of this nation have been formerly deceived by good words and fair promises. Setting days apart for seeking God in fasting, when the way is not good, will not hereafter blind *English* eyes. Doing things unwarrantably, and then entitling God to them, as they will never the more be owned by God, so they will be never the more acceptable to discerning men. He that doth righteousness is righteous. The fear of the Lord is to depart from evil; and true godliness cannot be without denying one’s self in all ungodliness and wordly lusts. They are just indeed, who have opportunity and power to be unjust, and yet dare not, because of the fear of God. They are truly faithful, who, when they are tempted and provoked to be treacherous, yea and have opportunity and power so to do, yet will not, dare not, wound their publick trusts. They have the name of God written in their hearts, who stand in awe of his precepts, and dare do nothing meerly because their sword is long enough to do it. And if this be according to the rule of truth, the question will

Hence arose confusion amongst the leaders,
who

‘ will be, whether the late and present actings of so
‘ many officers of the army be suitable, yea, or no?
‘ The parliament is interrupted, and that by a great
‘ part of the army. What parliament is it? [Is it]
‘ not the long parliament, under whose councils the
‘ army (by the blessing of God) hath won so many glo-
‘ rious battles in the field, both in *England*, *Scotland*,
‘ and in *Ireland*: that parliament, which (through the
‘ mercy of God) together with the subordinate con-
‘ currence of land and sea forces, was a terror to
‘ enemies both abroad and at home: that parliament,
‘ which was so constantly willing and ready both to sa-
‘ tisfy public debts and contracted arrears, and to pro-
‘ vide constant pay for the army and navy: that parlia-
‘ ment, whose former interruption was found to be no
‘ ways advantageous to the nation. Have not the af-
‘ fairs of *England*, both abroad and at home, been de-
‘ clining ever since? And was not this army brought
‘ into such a perplexed condition, by an over-ruling
‘ hand of Providence, that it was forced to take shame
‘ to itself, even for that force it had offered to this par-
‘ liament? Did not this army acknowledge this parli-
‘ ament the only visible authority in this nation; and
‘ thereupon solemnly desire and invite them to the dis-
‘ charge of their remaining trusts, promising all faithful-
‘ ness and assistance therein? Is it not to be considered,
‘ that this parliament, notwithstanding they could not
‘ but see that they must sit again under great difficulties
‘ and disadvantages, because the treasure was exhausted,

who knew not well what to do, or how
to

‘ vast debts were contracted, and the soldiers and sea-
 ‘ men unpaid; yet being invited, how did they break
 ‘ through these discouragements, and undertook *diffi-*
 ‘ *cillimam provinciam*, who were no sooner assembled,
 ‘ but a general, desperate, and deep-laid plot stares
 ‘ them in the face, and in many places breaks forth
 ‘ upon them. And can it be denied, that the Lord was
 ‘ pleased, in every part of the nation where the plot
 ‘ broke forth, to take the honour of the success chiefly
 ‘ to himself? And we may truly say, that, by grace,
 ‘ we were outwardly saved, lest any man should boast.
 ‘ And can any be so injurious as not to acknowledge,
 ‘ that, by the late sudden calming of the storm, God
 ‘ was pleased afresh to own, and that signally, the coun-
 ‘ cils of this parliament? Yet this parliament must
 ‘ again be interrupted, and that by those who had se-
 ‘ veral ways solemnly engaged to them afresh. And
 ‘ in the late petition, how many times do the
 ‘ officers engaged therein seem to take a plea-
 ‘ sure in styling themselves the faithful servants, and
 ‘ faithful army, of this parliament? ——— We
 ‘ are not ignorant of the great argument, why this par-
 ‘ liament was interrupted. What! must nine families
 ‘ be undone at once? Far be it from us to desire the
 ‘ undoing of any, much less of those for whom we
 ‘ have so great respect; and we could heartily wish,
 ‘ that affairs might be composed to mutual satisfaction;
 ‘ and we are apt to fear, that all good men will (at the
 ‘ long

to behave. Discord and division also took
place,

‘ long run) find the smart and inconvenience of these
‘ unhappy divisions. But what! are military com-
‘ mands so essential to the well-being of men, if not
‘ to their beings, that they should count themselves un-
‘ done if their commissions be but vacated by parlia-
‘ ment? If vacating of commissions be an undoing,
‘ how many hundred of families have been undone,
‘ time after time, by the parliaments pleasure? Did
‘ not the parliament, in the year 1645, think fit to lay
‘ aside these general officers ensuing, namely, the Earl
‘ of *Essex*, the Earl of *Warwicke*, the Earl of *Manchester*,
‘ *Ferdinando* Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *William Waller*, Major
‘ General *Massey*, Sir *William Breerton*, Colonel *Rossi-*
‘ *ter*, and many other officers? Yea, how many com-
‘ missions have been vacated lately by the council of
‘ nominations? And the former have for many years
‘ sat down in silence and peaceably at home, who have
‘ been known in their time to have done as good ser-
‘ vice, and happily divers of them might be thought still
‘ to deserve a military trust, as well as some others.
‘ But let the utmost be granted, which cannot be ima-
‘ gined, that it were a kind of outward undoing; must
‘ the parliament be broken up? Must the only autho-
‘ rity of the nation be trampled upon, to prevent such
‘ an undoing? Nay more, must the saving of nine
‘ commons be of such weight in the ballance of confi-
‘ deration, as that the undoing of so many millions of
‘ families in these nations shall be put to open hazard?
‘ — The people of *England*, assembled in parliament

place, which rendered their power less formidable,

‘ by their representatives, we must own to be our pro-
 ‘ per lawmakers, and to have legislative power, and to
 ‘ have power legally to levy taxes upon the people.
 ‘ We must own it, that the militia and standing forces
 ‘ of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, ought to be subor-
 ‘ dinate to, and to be disposen by, commons of parlia-
 ‘ ment, and of such powers as are delegated by parlia-
 ‘ ment; and therefore again it is the earnest desire of
 ‘ our hearts to your lordship, that you lay *Englands* sad
 ‘ condition, and the interest of Christ in the world, to
 ‘ heart; and consider the hopes of all sorts of enemies
 ‘ by the late sad breach, and lay to heart the sighs, tears,
 ‘ and groans of thousands of precious souls in this na-
 ‘ tion, and also the fears of many, that the glory is de-
 ‘ parting from our *Israel*; and also consider your own
 ‘ danger, and the danger of the army in the ways they
 ‘ now are; and that you would effectually endeavour
 ‘ the removing of the present force upon the parliament,
 ‘ that they may sit in safety, and without interruption;
 ‘ for this we judge (as the army not long since have
 ‘ done) the most likely expedient to make way for *Eng-*
 ‘ *lands* settlement, and therefore why should you not?
 ‘ It will be your honor, that by your means the door be
 ‘ once more opened, that this parliament may take some
 ‘ effectual course for as comprehensive an election of a
 ‘ succeeding parliament, as the safety of the cause will
 ‘ bear. And as to common enemies themselves, we can
 ‘ truly say, that we wish them equal benefit with our-
 ‘ selves under parliamentary laws. We only desire,
 ‘ that provision may be made, that the parliament, and
 ‘ the

formidable. And the people, in general,
weary

‘the well-affected of the nation, may not be at their
‘enemies mercy (s).’ This representation was signed,
*H. Morley, Ar. Evelyn, Will. Farley, John Okey, Jo.
Streaters, Matth. Alured, Nath. Barton, Tho. Sanders,
H. Markham.* — The army, sensible of these and such-
like objections to their conduct, thought it incumbent
on them to endeavour to vindicate it. This was at-
tempted by them in a pamphlet, entitled, ‘The Army’s
‘plea for their present practice (t).’ The reader will
be best able to judge of its force by the ensuing ex-
tracts. — ‘The army,’ say they, ‘is not insensible of
‘of the many angry and impertinent reflexions like to
‘be cast upon them for this act, by the petulancy and
‘frowardness of some discontented and inconsiderate
‘persons, whose self-same tongues can, and frequently
‘do, both bless and curse, commend and condemn, the
‘self-same actions (at several times performed), as their
‘own interests are like to stand or fall thereby: neither
‘are they much solicitous or careful about that matter,
‘being sufficiently furnished with satisfactory reasons in
‘their own consciences, to cut the sinews of any mate-
‘rial objection that can be made against them. They
‘are not likewise willing to enter into the controversie
‘and debate of all that may be said with reference to the
‘parliament, for or against their parliamentary autho-
‘rity, and the indissolubleness of them without their
‘own consent, nor are they altogether ignorant thereof.
‘That which did encourage the army to invite them to
‘sit again, was, the consideration and remembrance of

(s) Thur-
loc, vol. vii.
p. 771.

(t) Printed
by Henry
Hills, pri-
nter to the
army. 4to.
Lond. 1659.

weary of so many changes, and fearing
what

‘ what great things God did do by them, their many
‘ years knowledge and experience which they had of the
‘ complexion, temper, and state of the commonwealth,
‘ and their presumed abilities and disposition to endea-
‘ vour and bring about a safe and happy settlement
‘ thereof, to the great contentment of the people, and
‘ equitable satisfaction of all honest interests, and the
‘ many hopeful promises and assurances that were given
‘ thereof; and the army was resolved to adhere unto
‘ them, to the utmost of their power, to assist them
‘ therein, and did therefore judge it their duty to invite
‘ them to sit; but, alas! their hopes herein have va-
‘ nished like smoke. They looked for peace, but be-
‘ hold a rent; and for a time of healing, but no good
‘ good came. If this army, and the continuance there-
‘ of, be necessary to preserve that first just cause, for the
‘ preservation whereof they were first raised (there being
‘ scarce any thing obstructious unto the ruine of it, but
‘ the army), it was then necessary for them to take that
‘ course which they have done; for who seeth not, that
‘ if so be three of their chief officers, and seven
‘ field officers, can be puffed away with a breath, for no
‘ cause given, without hearing, examination, trial, or
‘ proof made of any fault committed, and the rest of
‘ the officers remaining every whit as much in the pre-
‘ tended offence as they, and therefore as much ob-
‘ noxious to be destroyed (in respect of their standing in
‘ the army) by the breath of their nostrils, as their su-
‘ perious

what might ensue, were very desirous
of

‘perious and brethren were : (the cause being so) who
‘seeth not, but that the army now must take its leave
‘and last farewell of their old friends, and that cause
‘which they have maintained hitherto with good suc-
‘cess (through Gods blessing), or take up new resolu-
‘tions to try yet what possibly may be done for the con-
‘servation thereof, and not to deliver up that sword out
‘of their hands, for the smiting of that cause, which
‘God by his providence did put into their hands for its
‘protection and defence. It is not denied but that the
‘officers of the army did promise and engage to be true,
‘faithful, and constant to the parliament, which they
‘did with all uprightness and singleness of heart: and
‘so did the parliament, when time was, in the Solemn
‘League and Covenant, in a most serious manner, with
‘hands lifted up unto the most high God, to defend the
‘kings person, honour, and dignity, in the preservation
‘of our liberties, and religion, &c. and yet afterwards
‘did arraign, condemn, and execute him; and yet,
‘doubtless, do believe that they have not broken their
‘covenant notwithstanding. In like manner the offi-
‘cers of the army did engage to be true, faithful, and
‘constant to the parliament; but though the parliament
‘was not pleased to insert the condition of that engage-
‘ment, viz. in the maintenance of that old cause, the
‘preservation of the just rights and liberties of all the pious
‘and good people of the nation, living a peaceable and
‘quiet life in all godliness and honesty, yet must it be
‘implied and understood: for either that condition was

R 4

‘intended,

of *Charles's* restoration, in order to obtain

‘ intended, or not ; if not, then was it unlawful, and
 ‘ so null and void in its very making : and as the making
 ‘ of such inconditionate engagement and promise is sin ;
 ‘ so the keeping thereof is sin also, and so an adding of
 ‘ sin to sin. If it were intended, though not exprest,
 ‘ then the army hath not broken their covenant with
 ‘ the parliament, because their very judgments and con-
 ‘ sciences (upon arguments very convincing unto them)
 ‘ are satisfied, that (if this army were out of the way,
 ‘ whereunto those votes of cashiering the chief officers
 ‘ thereof were previous) they are perswaded, upon
 ‘ grounds and reasons too enforcing, that all the pious
 ‘ and good people of this nation should not enjoy a
 ‘ peaceable and quiet life in all godliness and honesty,
 ‘ but only some part of them ; and that many thousands
 ‘ of good people in this land, that differ in judgment
 ‘ and practice in some points of religion and forms of
 ‘ worship from others, should be enforced either to sin
 ‘ in conformity against their consciences, or again, as
 ‘ in times of old, to seek their spiritual food, yea, and
 ‘ their bodily also, in desolate places, or else submit
 ‘ themselves unto the intollerable yoke of persecution
 ‘ and fiery trials. And what is this, but to give up
 ‘ that cause which for so many years hath, by Gods
 ‘ blessing, been asserted and maintained with good suc-
 ‘ cess, though with the loss of so much treasure and
 ‘ blood that hath been expended thereabout ? Again :
 ‘ the forementioned votes, discharging the said officers
 ‘ from their places of command in the army, were for
 ‘ something,

tain a settled government, and a perfect

‘ something, or for nothing : if for nothing, then were
‘ they meerly arbitrary, unreasonable, and unrighteous ;
‘ yea, and contrary to the parliaments promise to them,
‘ that the officers of the army, from time to time,
‘ should receive marks of the favour of the parliament,
‘ and countenance answerable to their faithfulness and
‘ merit ; which faithfulness and merit doth respect ei-
‘ ther the time past, or to come : if the time past, and
‘ with an eye to their former act of interruption, and
‘ leaving a liberty in them to punish them for the same,
‘ intending rather their presumed unfaithfulness and de-
‘ merit, than their faithfulness and merit, then that vote
‘ was no promise, and so still a very collusion.

‘ If it did respect the time to come, then that pro-
‘ mise hath not been kept, except cashiering be a mark
‘ of favour. Again : if their foresaid cashiering was
‘ not an arbitrary act of meer will and pleasure, but for
‘ just cause ; what was that cause ? why were they not
‘ called to an account, and heard before sentenced ?
‘ which in all equity (especially their former gracious
‘ promise of marks of favour considered) should have
‘ been done. — If it be said, that the parliament thought
‘ it convenient for publick good to take away the com-
‘ missions of those officers, which they gave unto them
‘ at their free pleasure ; and that they and none else
‘ are the proper judges of what is convenient to be
‘ done for common interest in that case ; and that the
‘ said

pect peace. Few, indeed, chose openly

‘ said officers ought to have submitted thereunto : —
 ‘ for answer, if it be granted that the being of this
 ‘ army, and the continuance also in the vigorous sense
 ‘ of their first just principles and resolution to protect
 ‘ all good men of honest and peaceable lives and conversation, in their civil and religious liberties, be absolutely necessary (which cannot reasonably be denied), then common and apparent reason must be the only judge. The army grants, that in doubtful and disputable cases, the parliament is the only judge ; and all must submit : but if the parliament judge, and say, that noon-day is mid-night ; or if they vote that it is liberty, and not bondage, to be in chains and cast into dungeons, and there kept ; must men submit in that case ? Suppose the parliament should make peace with the *Scotch* king, upon condition of security of their lives, liberties, and estates to themselves, families, and posterity ; and for quietness sake, for the settlement of the nation, should resolve to enact, that all men whatsoever shall submit and conform themselves, in their judgment and practice, unto what doctrines, discipline, and worship the said king and a free parliament (to be hereafter chosen by his writs) shall enact ; must the army and all others quietly submit, and lay down their heads upon blocks to be cut off, without asking any question, for conscience sake ? Whatever is the opinion of the late parliament in this point now, it is most certain, that was

‘ not

ly to declare themselves on this head;
but

‘ not their opinion in 1648. The sum then of this is,
‘ that as the late parliament, in one of their declara-
‘ tions, spake of treating with the late king, *viz.* a
‘ declaration of the lords and commons, of the 4th of
‘ *March*, 1647, in answer to the papers of the *Scotch*
‘ commissioners; so may the army say of their submis-
‘ sion to these votes, *viz.* that they cannot suffer them-
‘ selves to be voted out of all that they have fought for,
‘ nor that, under the pretence of publick good, voted
‘ so to be by the parliament, for the satisfying of all in-
‘ terests, one interest should be set up which should de-
‘ vour all the rest. Surely, if this must be the issue of
‘ all, after so much expence of the treasure and blood
‘ of the nation, the parliament and army should have
‘ taken this into consideration before they had engaged
‘ themselves and the nation in so much cost and blood,
‘ which was not only spent unnecessarily, but also very
‘ unlawfully. Who doth not see that this will bring
‘ upon them all the blood that hath been shed in this
‘ war? — Neither do they think they ought to suffer
‘ themselves to be voted first out of their commands in
‘ the army, and next unto the gallows, with all their
‘ friends and party, for nothing, but their adhering to
‘ that first just cause, whereunto they are invited, con-
‘ jured, and sworn so to adhere with their lives and for-
‘ tunes, even by them that so vote them. Again: by
‘ the parliament must be meant the major part of the
‘ parliament, and not the minor: and if so, it cannot
‘ be

but the frequent and loud calls for a
free

‘ be forgotten, that these very gentlemen of parliament,
‘ when they were a minor party in the house, and could
‘ not carry on that great cause of publick liberty,
‘ which at first they asserted, being overpowered by the
‘ contrary party in the house, through the defection
‘ that many of them made from the same; that then they
‘ did rest satisfied in permitting the army to be judge
‘ in the case, and (not to say, did invite and desire
‘ them to take away several of the leading party of the
‘ said disaffected members) did acquiesce and rest satisf-
‘ fied in the reasons given by the army for their so act-
‘ ing; the very spirit and life of which reasons did con-
‘ sist in this, that they could not in conscience permit
‘ them (that is, the major part of the house, for a mi-
‘ nor part could not) to destroy the cause which they
‘ (by commands of parliament, and in conscience of
‘ the vows and covenants imposed upon them by parlia-
‘ ment) did undertake when they were first invited into
‘ arms. And if they might be judge of what was meet
‘ to be done to secure the common cause of the good
‘ people of the nation then, why may they not (the
‘ case being the same in their very judgments and con-
‘ sciences) be judges of what is necessary for them to
‘ do now also (u).’ It must be allowed, that there is
force in some parts of this reply, *ad homines*; but at
the same time it insinuates falsehoods, and goes upon
suppositions highly improbable. The parliament had no
designs upon liberty, civil or religious; as was evident
from their former proceedings and late declarations.

(u) Army's
plea, p. 21
--- 28.

Nor could the cashiering of a few officers, how high soever their rank, be justly deemed as a presage of the ruin of the army itself. The parliament was too sensible of the need they had of their aid, as things were then circumstanced, to harbour such an imagination. There was a great difference also between the transactions in 1648, and those of the present time. The affair then deliberated on, was, whether the old master, who had attempted to bring all under the yoke, should be replaced in that power which it was well known he was little inclined to use well: that is, whether the people should preserve their liberty, or bow down to a tyrant whom they had fairly overcome? This was a national concern. But the matter now was merely the power and interest of a very few men, unconnected with the public; and therefore unfit to be a matter of such concern as to embroil the public, and overthrow government. However, this fresh interruption was much in the military spirit, inclined to despotism, and willing to give the law to all, whenever it finds itself in a capacity to make them submit. — I will close this note with *Milton's* sentiments on these army proceedings, as given by himself to a friend, in a letter, dated, *Oct.* 20, 1659. — ‘ I was
‘ over-joyed when I heard that the army, under the
‘ working of Gods holy spirit, as I thought, and
‘ still hope well, had been so far wrought to Christian
‘ humility and self denial, as to confess in public their
‘ backsliding from the good old cause, and to shew the
‘ fruits of their repentance in the righteousness of their
‘ restoring

' restoring the old famous parliament, which they had
 ' without just authority dissolved. I call it the famous
 ' parliament, though not the harmless; since none well-
 ' affected but will confess, they have deserved much
 ' more of these nations than they have undeserved.
 ' And I perswade me, that God was pleased with their
 ' restitution, signifying it, as he did, with such a sig-
 ' nal victory, when so great a part of the nation were
 ' desperately conspired to call back again their *Ægyptian*
 ' bondage. So much the more it now amazes me, that
 ' they, whose lips were scarce closed from giving thanks
 ' for that great deliverance, should be now relapsing,
 ' and so soon again backsliding into the same fault, which
 ' they confessed so lately, and so solemnly to God and
 ' the world, and more lately punished in those *Cheshire*
 ' rebels; that they should now dissolve that parliament,
 ' which they themselves re-established and acknowledged
 ' for their supream power in their other day's humble
 ' representation: and all this, for no apparent cause of
 ' public concernment to the church or commonwealth,
 ' but only for discommissing nine great officers in the
 ' army; which had not been done, as is reported, but
 ' upon notice of their intentions against the parliament.
 ' I presume not to give my censure on this action, not
 ' knowing, as yet I do not, the bottom of it. I speak
 ' only what it appears to us without doors, till better
 ' cause be declared; and I am sure to all other nations
 ' most illegal and scandalous, I fear me barbarous, or
 ' rather scarce to be exampled among any barbarians,
 ' that a paid army should, for no other cause, thus sub-
 ' due the supream power that set them up. This, I
 ' say,

‘ say, other nations will judge to the sad dishonor of
‘ that army, lately so renowned for the civilest and best
‘ ordered in the world, and by us here at home for the
‘ most conscientious. Certainly if the great officers
‘ and soldiers of the *Holland, French, or Venetian* forces,
‘ should thus sit in council, and write from garrison to
‘ garrison against their superiours, they might as easily
‘ reduce the King of *France*, or Duke of *Venice*, and
‘ put the United Provinces in like disorder and confu-
‘ sion. Why do they not, being most of them held ig-
‘ norant of true religion? because the light of nature,
‘ the laws of human society, the reverence of their ma-
‘ gistrates, covenants, engagements, loyalty, allegiance,
‘ keeps them in awe. How grievous will it then be,
‘ how infamous to the true religion we profess? how
‘ dishonourable to the name of God, that his fear, and
‘ the power of his knowledge, in an army professing to
‘ be his, should not work that obedience, that fidelity
‘ to their supream magistrates, that levied them, and
‘ paid them; when the light of nature, the laws of hu-
‘ man society, covenants, and contracts, yea, common
‘ shame, work, in other armies, amongst the worst of
‘ them? which will undoubtedly pull down the heavy
‘ judgment of God among us, who cannot but avenge
‘ these hypocrisies, violations of truth and holiness, if
‘ they be indeed so, as they seem. For neither do I
‘ speak this in reproach to the army; but as jealous of
‘ their honor, inciting them to manifest and publish,
‘ with all speed, some better cause of these their late
‘ actions, than hath hitherto appeared; and to find out
‘ the *Achan* amongst them, whose close ambition, in
‘ all

free parliament (HH) left no room to doubt

(x) Mil-
ton's prose
works, vol.
i. p. 637.
4to. Lond.
1753.

'all likelihood, abuses their honest natures, against their
'meaning, to these disorders: their readiest way to
'bring in again their common enemy, and with him
'the destruction of true religion and civil liberty (x).'

(HH) *The discord and divisions, which ensued, made the people desirous of Charles's restoration.*] Charles had always friends. Some were such on principle; others through hopes of reward; desire of revenge; the re-possession of what, by bad behaviour, they had forfeited; envy of those who had supplanted them in power; or a fickleness to which human nature is many times prone. Many of these people had shewn their good will towards the exiled monarch, and had paid very severely for it. Their sentiments, however, were not altered; but they were continually waiting for a favourable opportunity to overturn the power in being, and restore their master. All their attempts, hitherto, had been vain: and had the parliament and army continued united, they must have been always so. For the people, finding the advantage of an equitable government, would, in general, have been satisfied; and such as were not so, would have been over-awed, and kept in subjection. But when the supream power was overturned; when the members, who constituted it, were divided in principle and practice; when the army was split into parties, and every man's sword was ready to be drawn against his fellow; and all things were in a distracted state; — when this was the case, mens fears were

doubt of their intentions. Things being

were great, and they were catching at every thing for safety. They had forgot what had passed, and were only solicitous to escape the present danger. In this moment of terror it was, that men of various parties and denominations, of different views and designs, united in their wishes for the establishment of a prince from whom they could not reasonably hope the protection of their liberties. The confusion of things at this time, and their consequences, will be best understood by *Whitlock's* artless account of them. 'No quiet,' says he, 'was enjoyed by any party: all were at work, and the kings party very active, and every man was guided by his own fancy and interest: those in employment were most obnoxious to trouble. I wished myself out of these daily hazards, but knew not how to get free of them; the distractions were strangely high, and daily increasing. A design of a rising in *London*, laid by the King's party, but discovered and prevented, and many of the conspirators taken: letters [*Dec. 21*] that several of the forces, which *Fleetwood* sent to reduce *Portsmouth*, were gone into the town and joined with them, some of Colonel *Rich's* men, and others: that the isle of *Wight* was come into the parliament party: letters from Vice-Admiral *Lawson* and his officers to the city, and others to the militia of *London*, declaring for the restoring of the parliament; and from *Haslerigge*, *Walton*, and *Morley*, from *Portsmouth*, to the city, acquainting them with their suc-

ing in this situation, those who thought
them-

‘ cels there : most of the soldiery about *London* declared
‘ their judgment to have the parliament sit again, in
‘ honor, freedom, and safety : and now those that for-
‘ merly were most eager for *Fleetwoods* party, became
‘ as violent against them, and for the parliament to sit
‘ again : these passages perplexed me as well as others,
‘ if not more ; I all along suspecting *Monks* design.
‘ The Lord *Willoughby*, and Alderman *Robinson*, Major
‘ General *Browne*, Mr. *Loe*, and others, came to me,
‘ and confirmed my suspicions in this particular ; and
‘ propounded to me to go to *Fleetwood*, and to advise him
‘ to send forthwith to the king at *Breda*, to offer to
‘ bring him in upon good terms, and thereby to get be-
‘ forehand with *Monk*, who questionless did intend to
‘ bring in the King. I, upon serious thoughts of this,
‘ went to *Fleetwood*, and we had a long private dis-
‘ course together ; wherein I told him, that, by the de-
‘ sire of his brother, Sir *William Fleetwood*, and of the
‘ Lord *Willoughby*, Major General *Browne*, Alderman
‘ *Robinson*, Mr. *Loe*, and others, I was come to dis-
‘ course freely with him about our present condition,
‘ and what was fit to be done in such an exigency as
‘ our affairs were now in. That it was more than
‘ evident, that *Monks* design was to bring in the king,
‘ and that without any terms for the parliament party ;
‘ whereby all our lives and fortunes would be at the
‘ mercy of the king and his party, who were suffici-
‘ ently enraged against us, and in need of repairing their
‘ broken

themselves in danger, began to consult
in

‘ broken fortunes. That the inclinations of the pres-
‘ byterian party generally; and of many others, and of
‘ the city, and most of the parliaments old friends,
‘ were the same way, and a great part of the soldiery.
‘ And that these here were revolted from *Fleetwood*, as
‘ those in the North under *Lambert*, and those at *Portf-*
‘ *mouth*, and other places. That *Monk* would easily
‘ delude *Hafilrigge*, and the rest of the old parliament-
‘ men; and that all the incensed lords, and secluded
‘ members, would be and were active in this design:
‘ so that, I said, the coming in of the king was una-
‘ voidable; and that I thought (being that must be)
‘ that it was more prudence for *Fleetwood*, and his friends,
‘ to be the instruments of bringing him in, than to
‘ leave it to *Monk*. That, by this means, *Fleetwood*
‘ might make terms with the king for preservation of
‘ himself and his friends, and of that cause, in a good
‘ measure, in which they had been engaged; but if it
‘ were left to *Monk*, they, and all that had been done,
‘ would be left to the danger of destruction. I there-
‘ fore propounded to *Fleetwood* to do one of these two
‘ things; either to give order for all his forces to draw
‘ together, and himself and his friends to appear in the
‘ head of them, and see what strength they could make
‘ that would stand by them, and, accordingly, to take
‘ further resolutions, if they found their strength but
‘ small (as I doubted); then with those few he had to
‘ go to the *Tower*, and take possession of it; and to

in earnest for their own safety. Many
of

‘ send to the mayor and common-council of *London*,
‘ that they would join with them to declare for a free
‘ parliament; which, I thought, the city would wil-
‘ lingly do, and furnish him with money for his sol-
‘ diers, which would increase their numbers. *Fleet-*
‘ *wood* asked me, if I would go with him into the field,
‘ and to the *Tower*? I said, I would. *Fleetwood* then
‘ asked, what was the other way that I had to pro-
‘ pound to him in this exigency? I answered, it was
‘ this; that *Fleetwood* should immediately send away
‘ some person of trust to the king to *Breda*, to offer to
‘ him his and his friends service to the restoring
‘ of the king to his right, and that upon such terms as
‘ the king should agree upon. And, for this purpose,
‘ to give instructions to the party whom *Fleetwood*
‘ should send upon this affair. *Fleetwood* then asked
‘ me, if I would be willing to go myself upon this em-
‘ ployment? I answered, that I would go, if *Fleetwood*
‘ thought fit to send me. And after much other dis-
‘ course to this effect, *Fleetwood* seemed fully satisfied to
‘ send me to the king, and desired me to go and pre-
‘ pare myself forthwith for the journey; and that in
‘ the mean time *Fleetwood* and his friends would pre-
‘ pare the instructions for me, so that I might begin my
‘ journey this evening, or to-morrow morning early. I,
‘ going away from *Fleetwood*, met *Vane*, *Desborough*, and
‘ *Berry*, in the next room, coming to speak with *Fleet-*
‘ *wood*; who thereupon desired me to stay a little;
‘ and

of the principal actors under the fe-
veral

‘and I suspected what would be the issue of their own
‘consultation : and within a quarter of an hour *Fleet-*
‘*wood* came to me, and in much passion said to me,
‘I cannot do it ; I cannot do it. I desired his reasons,
‘why he could not do it ? He answered, these gen-
‘tlemen have remembred me ; and it is true, that I am
‘engaged not to do any such thing without my Lord
‘*Lamberts* consent. I replied, that *Lambert* was at too
‘great a distance to have his consent to this business,
‘which must be instantly acted. *Fleetwood* again said,
‘I cannot do it without him. Then, I said, you will
‘ruin yourself and your friends. He said, I cannot
‘help it. Then I told him, I must take my leave :

‘and so we parted (y).’ Thus, through the over-
honesty of one man, a design was laid aside, which,
possibly, might have prevented a thousand bad conse-
quences which afterwards followed ! Men, who en-
gage in great affairs, ought to be endowed with wis-
dom ; or, otherwise, their honesty will be of little
service. *Ludlow*, who was on the spot, as well as
Whitlock, represents the distractions of this time in the
following manner : ‘The Cavalier party, about *Lon-*
‘*don*, finding themselves disappointed in their design of
‘destroying the army by an insurrection, attempted to
‘do it in another way ; and to that end encouraged
‘the apprentices to meet in great multitudes, to peti-
‘tion the aldermen and common-council, that they
‘would use their endeavours to procure a free parlia-

(y) Memo-
rials, p. 690.

veral governments, which had taken place

ment to be speedily called; well knowing what the consequence of that would be in the present conjuncture of affairs. Many men of the kings party, and of desperate fortunes, intermixed themselves with them, and inflamed them to such a height of violence, that the army thought it necessary to send a regiment of foot, under the command of Colonel *Hewson*; who, when he was come into the city, was affronted to his face, his men fired upon from the windows, and stones thrown on them from the tops of the houses: and as they proceeded in their march, were so pressed by the multitude, that the soldiers, to preserve themselves from their violence, were obliged to fire upon them; and having killed three or four of their number, the rest dispersed themselves for that time*. But tumults were now become so frequent in the city, that the Army party found themselves obliged to send considerable guards thither almost every day to suppress them; one of which, being commanded by Colonel *Desborough*, carried themselves so roughly towards divers eminent citizens, that they greatly disgusted the whole city. The aldermen and common-council, not thinking it convenient openly to patronize these disorders, agreed upon a paper to be presented to the council of officers, wherein, having disowned the late tumults, they complained of the killing of their men, and of the guards that were

* This was on the 5th of December. See *Mercurius Politicus*.

kept

CHARLES THE SECOND.

63

place from the abolition of monarchy,
now

‘ kept in the city : desiring that they might be with-
‘ drawn, and the guard of the city left to the civil ma-
‘ gistrate, who could not otherwise undertake to secure
‘ the peace ; and that a free parliament might be forth-
‘ with called. This paper was brought to the council
‘ of officers, by divers members of the court of alder-
‘ men and of the council : and being read, it was re-
‘ solved, by those of the army, that if the aldermen
‘ and common-council would declare against the family
‘ of the *Stuarts*, and promise to be true and faithful to
‘ the commonwealth without a king, single person, or
‘ house of lords, they would withdraw their soldiers,
‘ and leave the city to be guarded by itself. They ac-
‘ quainted them also, that they had already resolved to
‘ call a parliament : and, for a farther satisfaction of the
‘ aldermen and common-council, they appointed six of
‘ their own number, whereof they constrained me to
‘ be one, to confer with them touching the reasons of
‘ these resolutions, and of the late proceedings of the
‘ army in the city. We met at *Whitehall* ; and after
‘ Col. *Desborough* had spent some time in shewing the
‘ necessity of sending part of the army to secure the
‘ peace of the city, and had made large protestations
‘ of the army’s friendship to them, I took the liberty
‘ to say, that those who were members of the army
‘ could best inform them of their own intentions in the
‘ late proceedings in the city, wherein I should not in-
‘ termeddle ; but having this opportunity, and being a
‘ well-

now found means to offer their service
to

‘ well-wisher to the commonwealth, I would take upon
‘ me to put them in mind, that we had all been engaged
‘ together, in defence of our rights and liberties, against
‘ arbitrary power; that the city had been eminently in-
‘ strumental, in assisting the parliament and army, to
‘ carry on that weighty affair, whereby they had ac-
‘ quired honor to themselves, esteem among good men,
‘ and satisfaction in their own minds: but withall it
‘ ought to be considered, that by this they had highly
‘ incensed and vehemently provoked the common ene-
‘ my against them; who, though they might carels
‘ them for the present, and make them most solemn
‘ promises of future kindness, would never forget the
‘ aid and support they had afforded to the parliament
‘ during the whole course of the late war; but would
‘ certainly take a time to be revenged on them to the
‘ utmost. Wherefore I desired them, as they tendered
‘ the peace of the nation, and the preservation of their
‘ persons and estates, that they would not suffer them-
‘ selves to be deluded by our common adversaries, and
‘ seduced by specious pretences to promote that interest,
‘ which, prevailing, would not only render all the
‘ blood and treasure, that has been spent in asserting
‘ our liberties, of no use to us; but also force us un-
‘ der such a yoke of servitude, that neither we nor our
‘ posterity should be able to bear. Divers of them
‘ seemed much surprized at this discourse, because they
‘ had taken other resolutions: yet others, and particu-
‘ larly Alderman *Fowke*, expressed their approbation of
‘ what I had said; and declared their resolution to act
‘ accordingly,

‘ accordingly, provided they might be assured not to be
‘ governed by an army : in which I assured them my
‘ judgment concurred with them, which my actions
‘ should always demonstrate (z).’ — This killing of
the men in the tumult, was a rare handle for the cavaliers to spirit the citizens up against the army, and thereby to expose them to their abhorrence. They greedily seized the opportunity. An anonymous printed paper, entitled, ‘ The Engagement and Remonstrance of the City of *London*,’ written by *L’Estrange*, was published, *Dec. 12, 1659*, which contained what was thought most proper to irritate on such an occasion. Among other things, of a similar nature, the following are remarkable, and shew the spirit of the man, and the temper of the times : ‘ We find, in the midst
‘ of us, the House of Prayer converted into a den of
‘ thieves : our counsels affronted by armed troops ; our
‘ fellow-citizens knocked on the head, like dogs, at
‘ their own doors, for not so much as barking : nay,
‘ ’tis become death, now, to desire to live ; and adjudged treason, but to claim the benefit of the law
‘ against it. Witnesse those infamous murders committed, but *Monday* last, upon our unarmed friends :
‘ and the glorious insolencies of that rabble towards
‘ such of the rest, as they seized and carried away.
‘ But this is nothing : to make us a compleat sacrifice,
‘ we are to be burnt too ; for they have laid in the materials of the work already (a prodigious quantity of
‘ fire-balls, in *Pauls* and *Gresham* college) : briefly we
‘ are designed for fire, and sword, and pillage : and it concerns us now, to look a little better to our gracious guards.

(z) Vol.
ii. P. 771.

‘ (Not

‘ (Not to insist upon the loss of trade, how many thousand families have nothing now to do but beg, and curse those wretches ?) The honour and safety of the city lies at stake : and God so bless us, as we’ll fall together ; we will not live to see our wives and daughters ravished, our houses rifled, and our children beggars that shall only live to reproach their cowardly fathers : and all this done too by a people which we can as easily destroy as mention ; by a party so barbarous, and so inconsiderable together, that, certainly, no creature can be mean enough, either to suffer the one, or fear the other (a).’

(a) L’Estrange’s Apology, p. 43. 4to. Lond. 1660.

However, there was little need of this kind of writings to stir up the people against those in power : for most of the counties in *England* were disposed to a settlement. In order to which they addressed *Moncke* (as we shall hereafter see) for a free parliament, that, by that means, *Charles* might be restored, and an end put to the present confusions. So that Lord *Ormonde* seems to have had some reason for telling Lord *Jermyn*, in a letter, dated, *Jan. 1, 1659, O. S.* ‘ that the general disposition of the people, and particularly of the city of *London*, seems to promise great advantages to the King ; four parts of five of the whole people, besides all the nobility and gentry, being devoted to him, and ready to act as they shall be directed, and not without some difficulty restrained from some present engagement (b).’

(b) Ormonde’s Papers, vol. ii. p. 300.

— This disposition of the people *Milton* takes notice of, and censures, in the following passage : — ‘ For this extolled and magnified nation, regardless both of honour won, or deliverances vouchsafed from heaven, to fall back, or rather to creep back, so poorly, as it seems the multitude would, to their once abjured and detested thralldom of kingship ; to be ourselves the slanderers of

‘ our

‘ our just and religious deeds, though done by some to
‘ covetous and ambitious ends, yet not therefore to be
‘ stained with their infamy, or they to asperse the integrity of others ; and yet these now, by revolting from
‘ the conscience of deeds well done, both in church and
‘ state, to throw away and forsake, or rather to betray, a
‘ just and noble cause, for the mixture of bad men, who
‘ have ill-managed and abused it (which had our fathers
‘ done heretofore, and on the same pretence deserted
‘ true religion, what had long ere this become of our
‘ gospel, and all protestant reformation, so much inter-
‘ mixt with the avarice and ambition of some reformers ?)
‘ and by thus relapsing, to verify all the bitter predictions of our triumphing enemies, who will now think
‘ they wisely discerned, and justly censured, both us and
‘ all our actions as rash, rebellious, hypocritical, and impious ; not only argues a strange degenerate contagion
‘ suddenly spread among us, fitted and prepared for new
‘ slavery, but will render us a scorn and derision to all
‘ our neighbours. And what will they at best say of us,
‘ and of the whole *English* name, but scoffingly, as of
‘ that foolish builder, mentioned by our Saviour, who
‘ began to build a tower, and was not able to finish it ?
‘ Where is this goodly tower of a commonwealth,
‘ which the *English* boasted they would build to overshadow kings, and be another *Rome* in the West ?
‘ The foundation, indeed, they laid gallantly ; but fell
‘ into a worse confusion, not of tongues, but of factions, than those at the Tower of *Babel* ; and have left
‘ no memorial of their work behind them remaining,
‘ but in the common laughter of *Europe* ! What must
‘ needs redound the more to our shame, if we but
‘ look on our neighbours, the United Provinces, to us
‘ inferior

to the exiled prince (11), and to im-
plore

‘ inferior in all outward advantages, who, notwithstand-
‘ ing, in the midst of the greatest difficulties, couragi-
‘ ously, wisely, constantly went through with the same
‘ work, and are settled in all happy enjoyments of a po-
‘ tent and flourishing republic to this day (c).’

(c) *Prose*
Works, vol.
i. p. 644.

(11) *Many principal actors in the late governments of-
fered their services to the exiled prince.*] Men who as-
pire to, and take employment in the state, too fre-
quently have no better motives thereunto than ambition
and self-interest. A court is followed because of the
loaves and fishes which are to be found there. When
these fail, it is no more regarded. So that it is not the
desire of profiting the public, the love of the sovereign,
or any of those specious pretences which are made use of
by these kinds of men, that, in fact, do actuate them
in accepting and executing their various employments.
Hence it comes to pass, that, generally speaking, it is
very indifferent to them who is the master, what is his
conduct, or how the people are treated by him. So
that it is nothing uncommon to see such as have been
favourites and counsellors under one prince, enjoy
the same under another, who has ousted him of his do-
minions, and deprived him of his bread. We are not
to wonder, therefore, that those who were preferred by
Cromwell, on account of their abilities, and had reaped
advantages in consequence thereof, should be disposed,
when their interest seemed to lead that way, to reconcile
themselves to *Charles*, in order to take care of them-
selves, in the full extent of the phrase.

A republican government, in which laws alone ought
at least to preside, is highly unsuitable to the disposition
of

plore pardon for their former transactions.

of those who have been used to liberties and indulgencies to which the law is a stranger. When *Richard* resigned, his and his father's friends almost immediately fell off from the party to which they had adhered, and did what in them lay to restore the old family and government. *Howard* and *Falconberg* were among the first of these; the latter of whom, after the suppression of *Booth's* insurrection, was sent to the *Tower* by the parliament (d). *Mountague*, though he continued in the command of the fleet, was justly suspected of being no friend to the parliament, and only waited an opportunity to join with the friends of *Charles*; as did *Penn*, and others, who had served the protector. To these we may add *Clarges*, *Ashley Cowper*, and many more, who arrived to honors, and wealth, and power, after the Restoration. We have already seen the disposition of *Fleetwood* and *Whitlock* to the same cause; though they had not the wisdom, the luck, or the — shall I say it? — dishonesty of the abovementioned. I would, I think I must, call it dishonesty; as they bargained only for themselves, and left the nations of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, in the lurch, without taking the least care of their laws and liberties, for which they with seeming zeal had engaged, and for which they had been well paid. Lord *Broughill* had been a zealous and active partizan for the family of *Cromwell* also; but about this time, ‘ he employed all his interest in making a party
‘ for the kings restoration: and to that end founded all
‘ his own officers, who were desirous and earnest for it;
‘ and then dealt with others, who were not immediately
‘ under

(d) Journal,
 24 Sept.
 1659.

tions. It need not be said they were,
for

‘ under his command. And his lordship having now
‘ secured all *Munster*, he sent trusty messengers to Sir
‘ *Charles Coote*, to engage him to do in the North, the
‘ same that his lordship had done in the South ; which
‘ he readily undertook, and accomplished : with which
‘ good news, Lord *Brogbill* immediately dispatched a
‘ letter to the king, then at *Brussels*, by his lordships
‘ brother, the Lord *Shannon*, inviting his majesty to come
‘ into his kingdom of *Ireland*, and land at *Corke*, assuring
‘ him that he would be there received ; and that he had
‘ got all the army of the South, as Sir *Charles Coote* had
‘ that of the North, in readiness to declare for his ma-
‘ jesty*.’ It is certain, *Brogbill* and his officers published
a declaration at *Corke*, dated, *Feb. 18, 1569, O. S.* in
which they insisted on ‘ the admission of the members
‘ secluded, in 1648, to sit in parliament ; and that va-
‘ cant places might be speedily supplied by the free and
‘ due elections of the people ; yet so as none of the per-
‘ sons to be admitted, or elected, be any of those who
‘ have been in arms, or otherwise aiding, abetting, or
‘ assisting the late king, or his son, in the late war
‘ against the parliament ; and that the house, so filled,
‘ may proceed unanimously to consult the best means for
‘ re-settling the peace of the nations, the re-establish-
‘ ment of true religion, the fundamental laws of the
‘ land, and the liberties and freedom of the people,

* *Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery*, prefixed to his State Papers, p. 31.
fol. Lond. 1742. See also *Ormonde's Papers*, vol. ii. p. 314.

‘ which

for the most part, successful. — The
friends

‘ which are supported by those laws (e).’ *Broghill* managed his matters as dextrously, however, as possible. For, well knowing the construction that would be put on this declaration, he continued to profess the utmost abhorrence of the royal cause. As late as *Apr.* 30th, he wrote as follows to *Thurloe*: ‘ They have odd plots ‘ heere concerning the king; and all means used to win ‘ me ; and, those failing, other things were thought on. ‘ But I can assure you, I have entirely secured *Munster* ‘ against any that shall be for the king, or not for the ‘ council of state or parliament. The like is done in ‘ most of *Ulster*, and some of *Leinster*.—I do monstrously ‘ dread the cavalier party; and if the parliament should ‘ be of such, God only knows what will be the evils. ‘ I am therefore heartily glad that the lords, I mean of ‘ 48, do resolve to sit ; that may be hazardous : but ‘ the other, I doubt, is certain (f).’ We may suppose *Thurloe*, who had like designs, was not much deceived by these professions. — I will now give a specimen of the manner in which some of these gentlemen made way for their reconciliation with their after-sovereign. *Downing*, resident in *Holland* for the protectors and the parliament, having strictly executed his commission with respect to watching well the motions of *Charles*, thought himself in some danger in the present conjuncture. To prevent this, he applied himself to Mr. *Thomas Howard*, whom he had formerly employed as a spy on his master, and prevailed on him to endeavour to procure his pardon. *Howard*, notwithstanding the

(e) *Thurloe*, vol. vii. p. 819.

(f) *Id.* p. 908.

friends of *Charles* availed themselves
also

the suspicions under which he laboured, undertook the matter; and in a letter to his majesty, dated *Ap. 5, 1660*, told him, ‘ that yesterday *Downing*, the parliament resident, sent twice to speak with me, so earnestly, that, notwithstanding the reasons I had to myself not to see him, I went to him. When I came, he told me, he had desired to speak with me upon something that, he believed, would not be disagreeable to me; and that he wished the promotion of your majesty’s service, which he confessed he had endeavoured to obstruct, though he never had any malice to your majesty’s person or family: alledging, to be engaged in a contrary party by his father, who was banished into *New England*, where he was brought up, and had sucked in principles that, since, his reason had made him see were erroneous, and that he never was in arms but since the king’s death, nor had ever taken oath or engagement of any kind. And not to trouble your majesty with the long discourses he made me, in short, he told me, his desires were to serve your majesty, if you would be so graciously pleased as to pardon his past faults and errors; and that he did believe himself, in many capacities, able to do your majesty some service. He could not particularize any great and notable service for the present; but in the general, he would, from this time, do all he could. He believes he has a good interest in the army, and that your majesty can have no greater service done
‘ you

also of the general disposition, and used
every

‘ you than the dividing the army’s interest, in their re-
‘ solutions of vehemently declaring against your majes-
‘ ty in particular, and in general against any govern-
‘ ment in a single person. He says, they will set out a
‘ declaration, for this purpose, within a few days after
‘ this parliament is dissolved ; which must be now done,
‘ the parliament being dissolved. He believes *Moncke*
‘ will endeavour to set up himself : and to assure me he
‘ was real in his proposition to serve your majesty, he
‘ shewed me a letter he received that morning (all in
‘ cypher, which he had decyphered) from *Thurloe* ;
‘ which gave him an account of the intention of the
‘ army, and that *Moncke* had desired the parliament not
‘ to put out their declaration for settling the militia in
‘ all counties, without the advice of his council and his
‘ consent ; and that the generality of *England* was for
‘ your majesty : but that those who most endeavoured
‘ your coming in, desired it might be upon such terms
‘ as that you would have no more power than a Duke
‘ of *Venice* ; and that no person now about your majesty
‘ abroad should be suffered to come into *England* in
‘ many years ; all which, he did believe, would in time
‘ be brought to pass, but not without bloodshed ; and
‘ that there was great probability of a war : that the par-
‘ liament had no intent to dissolve, but were forced to do
‘ it for fear of being dissolved by the army. This he
‘ bid me give your majesty an account of ; telling me,
‘ he wished your restoration upon better terms, and that
‘ he wished to see you a king that might oblige, and
‘ punish ; and that he would make no conditions for
‘ himself,

every art, in order to increafe it, by
repre-

‘himself, but desired to be looked upon according to
‘the merit of his services; and he would,’ for the fu-
‘ture, hazard his life and fortune for your majesty.
‘He told me, if your majesty were pleased to pardon
‘him, and accept his service, he would immediately go
‘for *England*, where he would endeavour to make good
‘his promise; and says, his not being looked upon as
‘interested in your majesty’s service, will make him
‘more capable to prevail with the soldiers and officers of
‘the army, who must first be brought off from their
‘vehement courses; and then he and his friends will
‘endeavour to bring them to such reasonable terms as
‘your majesty shall think fit (g).’ This offer was very
graciously, as it is reasonable to think, received by his
majesty; and *Downing*, in order to display his merit,
went on to betray what was intrusted to him (h). —
Ingoldeby also, the relation and favourite of the *Crom-*
wells, who had sat in judgment on the king, and, as
he would have it, unwillingly, set his hand to the war-
rant for his decollation, found a friend to recommend
him to the king, and to obtain his pardon. It was
Lord *Northampton*, a sufferer in the royal cause; who
assured his majesty, ‘that though his [*Ingoldeby*’s]
‘youth had acted against the crown, and his interest,
‘he was a real convert to both. I may without vanity
‘speak it,’ continues he, ‘I was the first attempted
‘him, being indeed sorry to see a person, in whom so
‘much honor dwelt, engaged with such a faithless crew,
‘his

(g) Or-
monde’s Pa-
pers, vol. ii.
p. 319.

(h) Id. p.
323.

representing the good disposition of the
king,

‘ his interest in the soldiery so advantageous, and for
‘ his abilities in conduct none more able to serve you.
‘ My first motions were in *Richards* time, when scarce
‘ a dawn appeared to the rising of your sun. The pro-
‘ posal I made was *Richards* resigning your right unto
‘ your majesty. The motives I us’d was *Richards* pre-
‘ servation, from the tempest (which, though then by
‘ many not believed) I afar off perceived would inevi-
‘ tably fall upon him, no shelter visible but to merit
‘ your protection by your majesty’s restoration. This
‘ dangerous secret did he most honourably preserve; and
‘ he no sooner perceived, by the last summers reports,
‘ that something was in agitation that would determine
‘ in action on your behalf, but he most freely proffered
‘ himself to do his utmost in it; no hopes of self-
‘ interest moving him, but that he might manifest his
‘ failings to be the faults of his misleaders, his worth to
‘ be innate in him. He would never lend an ear to any
‘ discourse of reward; but still declared, that your par-
‘ don and forgiveness of his former errors was all he
‘ aimed at, and that his whole life should be spent in stu-
‘ dying to deserve it. Upon my word to him, he acted,
‘ and scaped, by the divine mercy of God, those dangers
‘ so many of your loyal subjects had like to have suf-
‘ fered under. To him God hath given such a blessing,
‘ as to crush *Lamberts* aspiring ambition, desperate and
‘ bloody designs in their growth. I may boldly say, at
‘ that conjuncture of time, none in the army, with so
‘ small a force, could have done it. Ever since his re-
‘ investing

king, and the solid advantages which
would

‘ investing in command, he hath employed, with good
‘ effect, all his endeavours to frame those forces under
‘ him, so as to be sure of them to serve your majesty
‘ on the first occasion ; which he no less prudently and
‘ gallantly than happily performed. Desert (and in
‘ high measure too) pleads for your majesty’s favour
‘ now ; my word and honor are engaged for your ma-
‘ jesty’s confirmation. All farther marks of your es-
‘ teem I shall not prescribe, but leave to your royal na-
‘ ture to consider of (i).’ — I will only add, that *St.*
John and *Thurloe* made their addressees likewise to
Charles ; and, by means thereof, escaped from the ma-
lice of their enemies (k).

(i) Id. p.
333.

(k) Id. p.
324 ; and
Thurloe,
vol. vii. p.
897.

Thus, we see, every one of these men were for taking
care of one. — As to those who had on principle
engaged in the cause of liberty, of which, doubtless,
there were great numbers at this time surviving, they
acquiesced, or seemed to acquiesce, for the most part,
in the general voice ; and submitted, without struggling,
to what they saw it was to no purpose to oppose. If
the conduct of these needs an apology, the reader may
find it made long ago by *Cicero*, in an epistle to *Lentulus*,
which I will give in Mr. *Melmoth’s* most elegant trans-
lation. — ‘ It appears to me,’ says the *Roman*, ‘ to be
‘ the dictates of sound policy, to act in accommodation
‘ to particular conjunctures, and not obstinately perse-
‘ vere in one invariable scheme, when the public cir-
‘ cumstances, together with sentiments of the best and
‘ wisest

would arise to the nation from his restoration (κκ) : advantages, according to them,

‘ wisest members of the community, are evidently
 ‘ changed. In conformity to this notion, the most judicious
 ‘ reasoners on the great art of government
 ‘ have universally condemned an inflexible perseverance
 ‘ in one uniform tenor of measures. The skill of the
 ‘ pilot is shewn in weathering the storm at least, tho’
 ‘ he should not gain his port : but if shifting his sails,
 ‘ and changing his direction, will infallibly carry him
 ‘ with security into the intended harbour ; would it not
 ‘ be an instance of unreasonable tenaciousness, to continue
 ‘ in the more hazardous course wherein he began
 ‘ his voyage ? Thus (and it is a maxim I have often had occasion
 ‘ to inculcate) the point we ought all of us to keep in
 ‘ view, in our administration of the commonwealth, is
 ‘ the final enjoyment of an honourable repose : but the
 ‘ method of securing to ourselves this dignity of retreat,
 ‘ is by having been inflexible in our intentions for the
 ‘ public welfare, and not by a positive perseverance in
 ‘ certain favorite modes of obtaining it (l).’

(κκ) *They represented the good disposition of the king, and the advantages of his restoration.*] Hyde had possessed his correspondents in *England* with an opinion of the king’s judgment and good-nature (m) : but, unluckily, he lay under suspicions with regard to his religion. At the latter end of the year 1659, Lord *Mordaunt* writes to *Ormonde*, ‘ there is a report so hot of
 ‘ your masters being turned papist, that unless it be sud-

(l) Letters
 of Cicero,
 vol. i. p.
 194. 8vo.
 Lond. 1753.

(m) Burnet,
 vol. i.
 p. 89.

them, of such a nature, as must necessarily

denly contradicted, and the world disabused by something coming expressly from him, it is likely, in this extraordinary conjuncture, to do him very great injury amongst his friends, both in city and country; in both which, his constancy all this while hath rendered him many considerable proselytes. I beseech you, therefore, as soon as this arrives, use your earnest endeavours to cause the mistake to be rectified. I am told, some do intend very shortly to publish how he hath renounced his religion, put away from him his protestant council, and only embraced Romanists. Favour me with the truth of these particulars; and it shall be my care to take order to stay this calumny till our master can do it more authentically. Do not condemn my advice; but know, that if it were not highly necessary I should not have adventured to give you this trouble. Your master is utterly ruined (as to his interest here in whatever party) if this be true; though he never had a fairer game than at present; and 'tis his stability in that point that gains daily (n). This was generous in *Mordaunt*; as he exposed himself, possibly, to the resentment of many who were possessed of the king's favour. However, the usefulness of the advice was apparent; and, therefore, was immediately complied with. Some of the most eminent hugonot ministers were prevailed on to write to their brethren in *England*, who had great influence at this time, and were well disposed towards his majesty. In these letters, monarchy is highly praised, as was naturally to be expected from men living under it; and his restoration pointed out,

(n) Ormonde's Papers, vol. ii. p. 264.

cessarily make all very desirous of enjoying

out, as the only means of peace and safety. Hear their own words. ' Truly, I fear, you will never have peace ' ascertained,' says M. *Gaches* to *Richard Baxter*, in a letter, dated, *Paris, Apr. 2, 1660*, ' either against ' tumults at home, or the attempts of enemies abroad, ' till he, who is the grandson of so many kings, at ' length be restored to his grandfathers throne. He ' hath every way, by right of inheritance, the title of ' King of *Great Britain*, though he yet possesses not the ' thing designed by the title. I know what odium hath ' been cast upon him. Some, whether really or in pre- ' tention, are dissatisfied in his constancy to the true re- ' ligion; and alledge, that it concerns the church very ' much, that he, who is to rule others, should excel ' them in godliness. I will not answer (what truly may ' be said) that it belongs not to us to enquire into the ' princes religion: be he what he will (if his power be ' otherwise lawful, and the right of reigning belonging ' to him) obedience in civil matters must be performed ' to the king, and other matters must be committed to ' the divine Providence. Let the Bishop of *Rome* lust ' to juggle kings out of their throne, unless they order ' affairs of religion according to his beck; we may not ' be so proud. We give unto God the things that are ' God's, and to *Cæsar* the things that are *Cæsar's*. ' But I pass over all this: for (which is the thing chiefly ' to be considered) this prince, being born and duly edu- ' cated in the true religion, never departed from the ' public profession of it; no, not even in those places, ' in which he was like to suffer loss thereby: neither

joying them. And to quiet mens fears,
with

‘ did he disdain to be present at our religious assemblies
‘ at *Roan* and *Rochel*. Moreover, he hath the reputa-
‘ tion of godly practice among those that are about him.
‘ I confess, he never graced our church with his pre-
‘ sence while he was seated at *Paris*, which truly grieved
‘ us ; but because the case of those, called Presbyterians,
‘ seemed to concern us who are presbyterians ; and be-
‘ cause the kings death was ascribed to presbyterians ;
‘ he could not but be strange to us, untill the event of
‘ things certified him that his restoration was principally
‘ hindered, not by our brethren, but by the anabaptists
‘ for the most part, or at least the independents, whom
‘ also he certainly understood to have before promoted his
‘ fathers sad death. I wish the odium of that fact,
‘ wherewith our churches have been so long loaded,
‘ might now at length be removed from us, and our
‘ *English* brethren ; which I know not how it can ever
‘ be, unless matters may be so composed as the son may
‘ bear his fathers scepter, not violently wrested out of the
‘ presbyterians hands, but friendly and freely proffered.’

— *Drelincourt*, a minister of *Charenton*, also said,
‘ that there were in the kings family, among his domes-
‘ ticks, some gentlemen of our religion, and my old
‘ friends, who, at several times, have given me as-
‘ surances of the piety of this prince, and the stability
‘ in the profession he makes. The truth is,’ continues
‘ he, ‘ some *Englishmen* have unadvisedly done him great
‘ wrong : for, upon false prejudices, they have forbore
‘ communion with us ; and so have raised jealousies, as
‘ if their king and all his court were inclined to popery.
‘ But the more discreet behave themselves otherwise :

‘ for

with regard to futurity, the utmost assurances

‘ for, knowing that the belief of our church and that
‘ of the church of *England* is the same, they willingly
‘ come to our churches ; and even Dr. *Cosin*, the King
‘ of *Great Britain*’s chaplain, hath joined us with great
‘ devotion.’ — *Daille*, a man of the first reputation
for learning and judgment in the controversies of those
days, and who gave then an almost deadly wound to
the authority of the fathers ; *Dailly*, I say, wrote as follows,
concerning the religion of *Charles* : ‘ I well know
‘ there have been dispersed evil rumours concerning the
‘ religion of this prince : and I doubt not, but there are
‘ some persons at *London*, as well as here at *Paris*, who
‘ endeavour to perswade the world, that he hath forsaken
‘ our communion to embrace that of *Rome*. But
‘ who can believe a thing that is so contrary to probability ?
‘ There is nothing of this appears to us. On
‘ the contrary, we well know, that although this prince
‘ hath been constrained, by the circumstances of his present
‘ condition, to reside sometimes in places where the
‘ exercise of our religion is not permitted ; yet he hath
‘ always had his chaplains near to him, who are nothing less
‘ than papists, and who have every where regularly, in his
‘ presence, prayed, and performed the other parts of divine
‘ service. — It is objected against this, that, during the whole
‘ space of time which the King of *Great Britain* pass’d in the
‘ court of *France*, he never came to our religious assemblies,
‘ and that, amongst others, he never came to *Charenton* on the
‘ days of our worship. But although this may, at first
‘ view

surances were given, by the royalists,
of

‘ view, appear strange to those who knew not the reason of it ; nevertheless, as we are better informed of this than any one, we can testify, that religion was not the cause of it, and that he abstained from coming upon politick and prudential considerations, which may be peculiar to our church. And the proof of this appears in that when the King of *England* hath been out of *Paris*, he hath willingly gone to sermon in the churches of our brethren ; as, for instance, in *Caen*, and some other towns : and in *Holland*, also, he hath several times heard the sermons of the famous Monsieur *More*, who at present is our colleague. Thus, Sir, it is more clear than the day, that whatsoever hath been reported, till this time, of the change of his religion, is a meer calumny, scattered by the artifice of his enemies, for to vilify him in the judgment of his subjects, and to alienate their affections and good-will from him, and, finally, to render fruitless the just prayers which they make at present for his happy return into *England*. (o).’ — The strain of these letters is very remarkable ! Men who, probably, knew nothing, or next to nothing, of *Charles*, but his neglect or contempt of them when at *Paris*, take on them to sound forth his praises, and proclaim his deserts. Whether it was vanity, or the hopes of reward, which excited them to this undertaking, I will not pretend to determine. The event shewed their ignorance of what they talked about, and gave a lesson, to such as were capable of instruction, that clergymen, in general, are

(o) Kennet's Register and Chronicle, p. 92---95.

of burying in oblivion what was passed

are ill judges of politics, and grossly ignorant of the rights and interests of nations. — We are informed, by *Baxter*, that these letters were procured by Lord *Lauderdale*, by means of Sir *Robert Murray* and the Countess of *Balcares*, then in *France* (p).

The king himself also, in a letter to Mr. *Morrice* (afterwards secretary of state), dated, *Brussels*, Apr. 8, 1669, assured him, that ‘ he should be found to have ‘ the same good ends which he [*Morrice*] proposed to ‘ himself; and that no man in the kingdom could more, ‘ if so much, desire the advancement of the protestant ‘ religion, and the peace, and happiness, and honour of ‘ the nation (q). — To all this, it was added, ‘ that by ‘ closing with *Charles*, peace would ensue, and thence ‘ plenty: no jealousy of a pretender to invade us from ‘ abroad: *Ireland*, yea and *Scotland*, will acquiesce by ‘ way of subordination to the crown; the royal party ‘ must submit to the terms agreed; for if the head be ‘ satisfied, the body hath neither power nor title to dispute ‘ it farther. Parties also,’ it was said, ‘ would be reconciled; and then there would be no occasion for a land ‘ army. Taxes and the excise would cease; and peace ‘ be established with foreign princes. The reformed ‘ religion would be greatly advanced; and the characters of those cleared who first engaged in the war, ‘ and covenanted that they had no thoughts or intentions to diminish his majesty’s just power and greatness (r).’ — These were the representations used, on

this

(p) Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, part II. p. 215,

(q) Thuroloze, vol. vii. p. 858.

(r) Discourses for a King and Parliament, p. 14. 4to. Lond. 1660.

ed (LL), and securing the enjoyment of every thing dear and valuable to the people.

this occasion, to heighten the disposition of the people towards his majesty! Representations fit to work on the vulgar unthinking herd, of all degrees, who are easily beguiled, by priests and statesmen, to their own destruction. These men, if they had been taxed afterwards with their falsehoods, probably, would have excused themselves, by saying, that they then thought so. But they should have known, that three noble nations were of too great a value to be thus lightly handled; and that nothing but certainty, or the highest probability, should have excited them to induce a people, who might still have been free, to submit to a master, bred up in the principles of tyranny, descended from tyrants, and a stranger, in a good measure, to the laws and liberties of the country over which he claimed to bear rule.

(LL) *The utmost assurances were given, by the royalists, of burying in oblivion what was passed.*] The bulk of the nation, notwithstanding their inclinations to the king, could not but be under apprehensions of the consequences of his restoration. The royalists were judged to be inclinable to revange; and it was supposed, as these would be possessed of the power, they would not want the will to make those, who had subdued them, dearly pay for it. Property had shifted hands; and liberty of conscience had been claimed, and exercised, in a manner which could not be acceptable to those who

people. ---- Some wise men there were, however, who were not to be amused by

had lorded it in the church and in the state, and thought they had still a right so to do. In short, people were afraid for their consciences, their possessions, and their persons: for many of the royalists had been foolish enough to talk of his majesty's resolutions of revenge (s). The king, and his friends, were aware of this; and therefore took all possible care to lull the nation asleep, by smooth words, plausible professions, and such assurances as were judged aptest to work on their credulity.

(s) Ormonde's Papers, vol. ii. p. 318.

'Hyde sent over Dr. Morley, who talk'd much with the presbyterians of moderation in general, but would enter into no particulars; only he took care to let them know, that he was a Calvinist: and they had the best opinion of such of the church of *England* as were of that persuasion (t).' To second this most effectually, his majesty, in a declaration, dated, *Breda*, *Apr.* 14, 1660, promised 'a liberty to tender consciences; and that no man should be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that he should be ready to consent to such an act of parliament, as, upon mature deliberation, should be offered him for the full granting that indulgence.

(t) Burnet, p. 88. vol. i.

'And because,' proceeds he, 'in the continued distractions of so many years, and so many and great revolutions, many grants and purchases of estates have been made by and to officers, soldiers, and others, who are now possess'd of the same, and who may be

'liable

by words. These foresaw the consequences

(u) Phillips's Continuation of Baker's Chronicle, p. 724. fol. Lond. 1674.

‘ liable to actions at law, upon several titles ; we are
 ‘ likewise willing that all such differences, and all things
 ‘ relating to the said grants, sales, and purchases, shall
 ‘ be determined in parliament, which can best provide
 ‘ for the just satisfaction of all men concerned (u).’ —
 And that those who had fought against the royalists
 might be yet easier, many papers were dispersed in all the
 counties of *England*, subscribed by the chief of his ma-
 jesty’s adherents ; in which they said, ‘ We do sincerely
 ‘ profess, that we do reflect upon our past sufferings
 ‘ from the hands of God, and therefore do not cherish
 ‘ any violent thoughts or inclinations, to have been in-
 ‘ strumental in them ; and if the indiscretion of any spi-
 ‘ rited persons transports them to expressions contrary
 ‘ to this our sense, we utterly disclaim them : and de-
 ‘ sire that the imputation may extend no further, than
 ‘ the folly of the offenders. And we further declare,
 ‘ that we intend, by our peaceable and quiet behaviour,
 ‘ to testify our submission to the present power, as it now
 ‘ resides in the council of state, in expectation of the
 ‘ future parliament ; upon whose wisdom and determi-
 ‘ nations, we trust, God will give such a blessing, as
 ‘ may produce a perfect settlement both in church and
 ‘ state. — It is our hope and prayer, that when the
 ‘ building comes to be raised, it may not, like *Rome*,
 ‘ have the beginning in the blood of brethren ; nor, like
 ‘ *Babel*, be interrupted by confusion of tongues : but
 ‘ that we may all speak one language, and be of one
 ‘ name ;

quences (MM) of the king's return, and
fairly

' name; that all mention of parties and factions, and all
' rancour and animosities, may be thrown in and buried,
' likerubbish, under the foundation (x).' How well all
these promises were made good — for promises they
were taken to be — will be fully shewn hereafter.

(x) Id.

(MM) *Some wise men foresaw the consequences of the
king's return, and laid them before the nation.*] The
character of *Charles*, the expediency of his restoration,
and the probable consequences of it, had been the sub-
ject of debate almost from his father's decollation. We
have seen what was said, on these heads, in the contro-
versy concerning the engagement (y). On Sir *George*
Booth's rising, the dispute again was carried on with much
vehemence. The favourable representations of his ma-
jesty, and the happy consequences of his taking posses-
sion of the government, according to the opinion of his
friends, have been just set forth. It remains now, to
shew the sentiments of men differently affected towards
him, relative to these matters. — ' As for the kings
' religion,' says *Marchamont Nedham*, ' if any, it is at
' best, you know, but a devotion to prelacy (which was
' bequeathed to him in legacy); for he forfeited all
' his coronation oaths and protestations to the *Scots* na-
' tion, with all his other pretences of religion there,
' before ever he left that country. What profession he
' hath since owned abroad, hath (for reason of state)
' been kept very close; and yet not so close, but he dis-
' covered it, when visiting one of the *English* Jesuites
' colledges in *Flanders*, they shewing him, in their chap-
' ple,

(y) See
note (xx).

fairly laid them before the nation. ---

They

‘ple, the effigies of several good fathers of that house,
 ‘which had been fainted at *Tyburn*, he pulled his hat
 ‘over his eyes, and turned aside to the wall. But if
 ‘this be not evidence, let us have recourse to reason,
 ‘and then consider how long he was under the wing
 ‘of his mothers instructions in *France*, and what a
 ‘nursery *Flanders* hath been for him since, which is the
 ‘most jesuited place in the world: consider also the ur-
 ‘gency of his necessities disposing him to embrace any
 ‘thing, or take any course, to get a crown, being under
 ‘the same influence of that wandering star, called, *Ra-
 gione di Stato*, as was his grandfather, *Henry* the fourth
 ‘of *France*, who shifted his religion to secure a crown,
 ‘and chose rather to hazard his portion in paradise, than
 ‘his palace at *Paris* (which some say were his own very
 ‘words): but to these considerations, take along with
 ‘you the young mans intercourse with, obligation, de-
 ‘pendence upon, foreign priests and papists; his fre-
 ‘quent known applications and promises to the Pope,
 ‘by special agents employed to *Rome* for that purpose,
 ‘and to the Emperor, as well as the *Spaniard*: his al-
 ‘liance to and combination with them, and other pope-
 ‘ish princes (especially those of the *Austrian* party);
 ‘being put altogether into the ballance, are ground
 ‘enough to believe him sufficiently affected, if not
 ‘sworn, to popery (z).’ — ‘However, because the
 ‘poor royalist hopes to reap a great harvest by the regal
 ‘restitution, it will not be amiss to give him a little
 ‘eye-salve, that he may be able more clearly to discern

(z) Inter-
 est will not
 Lye. 4to.
 Lond 1659.

‘ his

They represented, in the strongest terms,
what

his own condition. The royalists are of two sorts :
first, such as adhere to *Charles* out of necessity ; secondly, such as adhere to him out of humour. The former are those, who, being hopeless of a return, or of the recovery of their fortunes by way of reconciliation, are constrained to run any hazard abroad with the head of their party ; and therefore would turn every stone to overturn the present power of the commonwealth, that they may set up themselves. The latter sort of royalists are such, who, though they served heretofore under the royal standard, yet, through favour of the parliament, have regained possession of their estates, and equal immunities with the rest of the people, save only that they are not yet thought capable of publick trusts in great offices, or to sit in parliament ; but, otherwise, they enjoy the full benefit of that oblivion which the parliament gave, in hope thereby to oblige them. These may, not improperly, be called humourous royalists ; because they have only an obstinate and vain-glorious humour for the ground of their behaviour, without any possibility of advantage thereby unto themselves, but are ridden, by the other sort, to carry on the highboy design of particular persons. These, to restore the single family of a prince, cast out by a wonderful hand of Providence, seem willing to hazard the ruin of all their own families ; and to serve the ends of certain persons about him (men whose fortunes are desperate), they are ready to fool themselves into a loss of their own,

what was to be expected from the son
of

‘ as certainly they will if *Charles* miscarry in his enter-
 ‘ prize. Whereas, on the other side, if he should carry
 ‘ it with success, they will be then but where they were,
 ‘ they can be but masters of what they have already.
 ‘ ——— The High Ranters and Fugitives are they
 ‘ that shall be looked on at court; those bell-weather
 ‘ of royalty will bear away the bell of preferment;
 ‘ whilst the poor country royalists (both gentry and yeo-
 ‘ men) shall be glad to drudge and plow, to pay the
 ‘ yet-unknown taxations which must needs be establish-
 ‘ ed to satisfy the forlorn brethren of the sword, and
 ‘ the grandees of the party; and, finally, be en-
 ‘ tailed upon the whole *English* posterity, to maintain
 ‘ the pomp and pride of a luxurious court, and an ab-
 ‘ solute tyranny: which being considered, it is a won-
 ‘ der how they feed themselves with phantasies, who pre-
 ‘ tend to his restoration, supposing that the golden age
 ‘ must needs return again with him; whereas, alas!
 ‘ they will but be made use of, as the cats paw was, to
 ‘ pick the chesnuts out of the fire for the service of the
 ‘ monkey.(a).’ — After this the author, addressing himself
 ‘ to the presbyterians, asks, ‘ What can you of the presbyte-
 ‘ rian judgment expect, but certain ruin to your way
 ‘ and your persons, by a clenching and closing with in-
 ‘ consistent principles? Whereas those that he* calls
 ‘ the lesser parties, which are grown up under you,
 ‘ have hitherto allowed the men of your way as great
 ‘ freedom as they do enjoy themselves, and have ad-

(a) Id. p. 8.

* The author of a pamphlet, called, *The Interest of England stated*.

‘ mitted

of the late king, nursed up in the
princi-

‘mitted you to an equal participation, with others, of that
‘grand privilege, Liberty of Conscience, which (how-
‘ever some of you may flatter yourselves) ye can never
‘enjoy under a sort of people that will never be at rest
‘without a ranting episcopacy. Consider,’ says he, ‘the
‘animosity naturally inherent in the royal party, and
‘their head, against you. They will never leave buz-
‘zing in his ears, to quicken his memory, that the in-
‘terest of your party was in its infancy founded, in *Scot-*
‘*land*, upon the ruin of his great grandmother; conti-
‘nued and improved by the perpetual vexation of his
‘grandfather; and, at length, prosecuted to the deca-
‘pitating of his father. Be not so weak, as to sooth
‘yourselves, that you shall fare better than others, be-
‘cause you never opposed this gentlemans person: it is
‘ground sufficient for his hatred, that you bandied
‘against his father, and the prerogative, to which he
‘conceives himself heir; and to hate you the more,
‘because the making good of promises to you, would
‘be the clipping of the prerogative. ——— Again,’
says he, ‘consider, that as he hath a most particular
‘antipathie against your party, as the old enemies of
‘his family; so with what promises soever he may sooth
‘you, yet you, of all other men, have least reason to trust
‘him. Had not your party in *Scotland* an experiment,
‘when they entertained him there, how little consci-
‘ence he made of all his promises, and how, in a
‘trice, he shuffled out your presbyterian interest in
‘that nation, and turn’d up trump, the Cavalier?

principles of despotism, and a professed
foe

(b) Id. p.
12—15.

‘ — Trust him then, if you please; and bring him in,
‘ if you dare : that by new experiments, to your own
‘ sorrow and confusion, you may learn, when it is too
‘ late, that it was your true interest, as presbyterians, by
‘ all means to keep him out of the nation (b).’ —
‘ But if *Charles Stuart*, say some, were brought in, and
‘ settled; then all things would settle too. — For
‘ answer for this, — if ye think ye shall be eased of ex-
‘ cise, taxes, &c. by letting him in, ye will be miserably
‘ mistaken : for these vast charges will presently ensue;
‘ 1. A large expence for maintaining the splendor of a
‘ royal court; which must be had, either by resuming
‘ king, queen, and princes lands; though some think
‘ that cannot be done, the thing in itself not being fea-
‘ sible, because of the incredible confusion it would in-
‘ troduce generally upon property; or else, if it cannot
‘ be had that way, it must be drained perpetually out of
‘ the peoples purses. 2. There must be a course taken
‘ to find a reward for foreigners, if any come in (as ’tis
‘ past question they will, if a war should go on again);
‘ and if they should not come, yet *Charles’s* followers
‘ and leaders, the younger brothers, with the sons of
‘ fortune, and the brethren of the blade, must all be
‘ provided for : at that day, those who have been of no
‘ side, shall be found as great sinners as any; and the
‘ city of *London*, who (as the cavalier swears) have
‘ gained by the wars, shall be remembered as the be-
‘ ginner of them; and then ’twill be too late for the
‘ vapouring

foe to the liberties they enjoyed. —

They,

‘vapouring companions of the smoaking clubs to say,
 ‘I, and I, and I, was always (as our neighbours
 ‘know) a friend of his majesty. 3. Besides the pub-
 ‘lick debts of the nation, which must be paid, the
 ‘young man hath innumerable vast debts contracted by
 ‘himself beyond sea; those must be paid too, and which
 ‘way, I pray you, but out of the general purse? Think
 ‘ye then, that this is the way to be eased of excise and
 ‘taxes? The necessities would so increase, by *Charles*,
 ‘that they must, upon his coming in, be trebled to
 ‘what they are now upon you. — And as by his resti-
 ‘tution we shall be far from ease of burthen, so we
 ‘must of neccesity be much further from attaining
 ‘peace and settlement; because the discontents of all
 ‘parties, which must be taken in, in order to a settle-
 ‘ment, will be raised to a higher pitch of animosity.
 ‘— There had need be extraordinary skill then in
 ‘tempering mortar, before ye can daub or cement all
 ‘these together; but that being impossible, the issue
 ‘will be, that his majesties darling episcopacie, being
 ‘like to rule the roaste, may think it wisdom to hold in
 ‘awhile with presbyterie, to make use of her spleen in
 ‘persecuting and weakening the other dissenting par-
 ‘ties, and afterwards wipe the nose of presbyterie it-
 ‘self, and at length attempt to clap them altogether
 ‘under hatches. Now what would this be, but to put
 ‘them to begin the world again, to redeem themselves
 ‘once more from that yoke of antient tyrannie, after
 ‘it had been but newly cast off? But suppose that the

They, moreover, set forth the inutility

‘ episcopal project may not at present mount so high,
 ‘ yet it will always be trump where there is a *Steuart* on
 ‘ the throne (for old *Charles* in his book strictly enjoins
 ‘ it); and what can either of these things produce, but
 ‘ the same necessity of his keeping forces on foot to se-
 ‘ cure the tyranny in his own and his bishops hands,
 ‘ against the rest of the people, as the parliament is
 ‘ constrained now to do for securing liberty of consci-
 ‘ ence, and all other rights and liberties of the people,
 ‘ against the return of that tyranny? If so (as things
 ‘ would, certainly, unavoidably so fall out), surely it is
 ‘ evident, the same taxes and payments, as are now,
 ‘ must be continued under *Charles*, with additions of
 ‘ new ones, as yet unheard of, to be entailed upon the
 ‘ generations after us (c).’ After this the author ap-
 ‘ plies himself to the army, the parliament, and the city
 ‘ of *London*; to the latter of which bodies of men, he
 ‘ says, ‘ It is evident what a governor for you this pre-
 ‘ tender would prove, who suckt in his fathers princi-
 ‘ ples with his mothers milk, hath been bred up under
 ‘ the wings of prelacie and popery; and as he suckt
 ‘ both breasts heretofore, so he hangs upon them both
 ‘ at this very day: one who, from the beginning, was
 ‘ engaged against the cause of the commonwealth and
 ‘ your city, and who hath the same counsellors his fa-
 ‘ ther had (besides a more intimate acquaintance ac-
 ‘ quired beyond sea with the Jesuits) to remember him
 ‘ both of the old design, and the ways to effect it; one
 ‘ who

(c) *Id.* p.
 21—23.

lity of his return to the nation in general,

‘ who hath been bedabled in the blood of *England*,
‘ *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and hath both his fathers and
‘ his own scores to clear out of your purses, and hath
‘ long made it his business to cajole and cheat all parties,
‘ in hopes thereby to get in upon us, with a desperate
‘ rabble at his heels, to execute his revenges.
‘ What shall we say then of such men, that now make
‘ shipwrack of their own principles to seek to let him
‘ in, and would be opening sluices of blood, out of
‘ their countrymen and nearest relations, for the interest
‘ of their own and the publick enemy. As to what
‘ concerns your trade, it is easy to guess what will
‘ become of that, when it shall be counted reason of
‘ state to keep you poor and low. For the inference is
‘ ready at hand for him: *viz.* that if the father complained
‘ of pride and power in you, and hath recorded
‘ that from thence proceeded the first causes of his ruin;
‘ then the son is concerned to pull down your pride
‘ (if I may use the royal phrase), and hold a strong
‘ hand over you. And how do you think trade can
‘ thrive upon his restitution? when there will be a necessity
‘ of trebling taxes, and perpetuating them past
‘ remedie, to maintaine another kind of army than we
‘ have now, to tame dissenting parties, and to keep the
‘ nation in an asinine posture of submission, to bear all
‘ burthens that shall be laid, either upon the estate or the
‘ conscience, by the lords of the court, and the lordanes
‘ of episcopacie. As trade therefore is the particular in-
‘ terest

neral, or to the several parties therein
contained,

‘terest of your city, so be wary, that the want of it at
‘present do not irritate you to fall out with the publick
‘interest of your country; but remember, that it being
‘once settled, trade and all other concernments will
‘soon flourish again; and that the way to settlement
‘must be by giving satisfaction to all parties, which
‘cannot be expected from *Ch. Stuart* and his party,
‘but may and will be easily had from the way of a free
‘commonwealth; so that all we have to do is, to stick
‘close to the parliament, that they may be enabled to
‘establish it, and employ our utmost to keep him out;
‘because, otherwise, war will follow; and that will
‘inevitably bring on a destruction of trade, with the
‘ruin of religion, liberty, and our renowned city:
‘all which may prosper if you please. Tis you that
‘have given all this pail of good milk; and what a
‘thing would it be, that any of you should aim to kick
‘it down in the dirt (*d*).’ — ‘Trade would be a suf-
‘ferer by the return of our monarchy,’ says another com-
monwealth writer. ‘What have the best of all their
‘majesties,’ says he, ‘that ever reigned in *England*,
‘done for the encouragement of trade? If they had
‘done any thing material, *England* had been bound to
‘thank them more than it is. Something, it may be,
‘hath been done for the benefit of particular trades;
‘but trade, in general, hath been little befriended.
‘Trade and tradesmen, all along, hath been the very
‘scorn and envy of the court; not fit to keep a gentle-
‘man company, but at a distance, though ten times
‘better

(*d*) Id. p.
54

contaiued, catholics alone excepted; ---
the

‘ better than himself in estate; must be looked upon as
‘ poor mechanick fellows, notwithstanding in other
‘ nations and commonwealths, their best gentry, lords,
‘ earls, dukes, hold it no disparagement to trade:
‘ hereby trade became of so good esteem, that a gentle-
‘ man’s son should be bred up for the gallows, rather
‘ than be dishonoured by a trade. Hence a man might
‘ play the good husband, cart, plow, buy and sell hops,
‘ sheep, horses, cows, oxen, hens, geese, and yet be a
‘ tolerable country ’squire; but a tradesman, no, by no
‘ means, the time was when these were not fit to be
‘ numbered with the dogs of their flock. It was a
‘ noble knack to encourage trade and tradesmen, that
‘ care must be had lest they should be too fine, and be
‘ mistaken for gentry; and by all means their wives
‘ must be dressed according to court directions, lest they
‘ should vye gallantry with the madams of prerogative.
‘ By all means they must know themselves; and ’tis pity
‘ some course is not taken now, that we may know a
‘ tradesman from his betters. And however this may ra-
‘ ther provoke some to laughter, than a serious thought
‘ about it; yet it is not of so light consideration: for
‘ whosoever is concerned to keep trade under, he hath
‘ two things to do that will effect it. One is, set trade
‘ in a condition of contempt, and this will keep a peo-
‘ ple of high spirits (where the gentry are highly ho-
‘ noured), it will keep them off from trades, and make
‘ them seek their fortunes some other way; and if this
‘ prevail, then some reasonable boons may be granted
‘ to

the expensiveness of a regal, compared
with

‘ to those few that maintain the trade ; for some trade
 ‘ doth well under the greatest tyranny. But if men
 ‘ will be content to be any thing or nothing, to be base
 ‘ and dishonourable, to get riches in a way of trade,
 ‘ and so begin to overstock a monarchy with traders and
 ‘ trade, then follows all manner of gabels and imposi-
 ‘ tions, that, if they will be doing, they shall be sure to
 ‘ have no more than their labour for their pains. How
 ‘ much the flourishing of this city hath been envied,
 ‘ some do yet very well remember ; and how it was
 ‘ feared *London* should grow too big for *England*. It
 ‘ hath been always a maxim with monarchs, to keep
 ‘ the unruly plebeians from being over-pursey, lest their
 ‘ wits should increase with their wealth, and they should
 ‘ begin to contend for their priviledges ; and there-
 ‘ fore, to make the conquest compleat, those projectors
 ‘ and patentees were encouraged, with their monopo-
 ‘ lies, to eat out the heart of trade, and keep the mer-
 ‘ chant as bare as my nail : which, with some other
 ‘ grievances, was the very beginning and ground of our
 ‘ late quarrel : when although some did arrive to vast
 ‘ estates, by reason of the paucity of tradesmen, scarcely
 ‘ any minding a trade, but such as had very low for-
 ‘ tunes to begin, and these living in times of peace and
 ‘ very low jollity. Yet was not this so general a good
 ‘ for the reasons beforementioned ; but so little encou-
 ‘ ragement was given, that if any gentleman, of a con-
 ‘ siderable reputation, had engaged any of his younger
 ‘ children in trade, he should be looked upon to have
 ‘ debased

with a commonwealth government; the
infe-

‘debased his family for ever, and marred the generosity
‘of his child; being only in a capacity to be put in
‘couples with a hat and a coif; a convenient match
‘for a pair of spatterdashs, and leather breeches; for
‘such were generally those (saving only some few, more
‘serious than the rest) that occupied any trade when
‘they first began their employment. How well the ci-
‘tizens of *London* would be rewarded, by calling in the
‘*Scottish* king, for not being like the men of *Isachar*,
‘crouching under their loads in the late kings time, let
‘those threatening letters of his majesty, to this city, in-
‘form those who are so sollicitous for the return of
‘monarchy. Whoever would have trade to flourish in
‘*England*, must dis-franchise two parts in three of those
‘that have served apprenticeships since 1640, or must
‘think of some better expedient than our old monarchy
‘for its advancement; it being abundantly manifest
‘there are too many tradesmen, and well-willers to
‘trade, to thrive under that monarchy, and receive that
‘benefit by it they expect; who, if there were such rea-
‘sonable encouragement as might be given, would go
‘near to be every second man in the nation. Trade
‘is now grown, and growing into so good esteem,
‘which can never sort with the interest and continuance
‘of monarchy, nor monarchy with it (e).’ — The
‘same writer, in another place, points out the danger of
‘mens property, by calling in the late kings son. -----
‘How many purchasers,’ says he, are there of Bishops
‘lands, Dean and Chapter lands, Delinquents lands,
‘and

(e) The
Grand Con-
cernments of
England se-
cured. 4to.
Lond. 1659.

insecurity of their consciences, their possessions,

‘ and Crown lands, whose fee simple would be no very
 ‘ visible title, but much worse than tenure in villenage,
 ‘ let any reasonable man imagine. This will not only
 ‘ concern Roundheads, but many, who, in other matters,
 ‘ are at no great distance with episcopacy, have
 ‘ their hands full of them, they being bought and
 ‘ sold over and over, many to whose hands this will
 ‘ come, will no doubt be sufficiently sensible hereof.
 ‘ That these are alienated upon as good (if no better)
 ‘ reason, than were the abbey lands, &c. in *Henry VIIIth’s*
 ‘ time, none that were the first buyers had, I believe,
 ‘ any jealousy to the contrary, nor hath any man any
 ‘ thing material to object against it. King and delinquents
 ‘ lands were justly forfeited for raising and levying
 ‘ war upon the parliament: the bishops lands, because
 ‘ those men involved us into those distractions, and abetted
 ‘ and adhered to that party, and drove the chariot of the
 ‘ church so furiously, that they were like to overthrow
 ‘ all; wherefore the state found it good prudence to take
 ‘ down their mettle by making better use of their lands
 ‘ to satisfy publick debts, and so to leave them disabled
 ‘ for the future to disturb our peace, which, if their lands
 ‘ had been preserved, they would have been always attempting
 ‘ to recover, and therewith the government both of church
 ‘ and state too. The other church lands went in company
 ‘ to pay debts, being exposed to forfeiture by the general
 ‘ malignancy of the incumbents; besides, were of no other
 ‘ signification than to maintain a company of lazy lubbers:
 ‘ the nation is hereby generally

sessions, and their persons, under a
prince,

nerally concerned to secure them their purchases, as
these were secured and untouched in *Hen. VIII.* time.
— [But] is it imaginable when he [*Charles*] shall
return king of these nations, he will endure to see the
crown lands fallen into the fingers of *John an Oaks*
and *John a Stiles*, himself king of *England* and not a
foot of land? could he say, Soul take thine ease,
while those loyal hearts that followed him through
thick and thin, in peril at sea, remain fleeced of thou-
sands *per annum*, all the church lands gone, and no-
thing left to oblige those props of prerogative; would
this give his majesty a competent satisfaction to sit down
and let it rest thus? I trow not. How can he look
upon himself as other than a burden to his country,
if he must live upon the charity of well-disposed peo-
ple? such too would be the case of his sequestered ad-
herents; and could this comport with the honour of
his majesty? Could he see bishops, deans and chap-
ters, thus brought to desolation, so far from having
their kingdom in this world, that they should have
scarce a hole to put their heads in; and would not this
be a hard chapter? Could he look upon himself un-
der the first consideration, and believe he were the high
and mighty Prince *Charles*, King of *England*, *Scotland*,
&c. or under the second, and not think he had lost the
crown of his crown? Could he believe himself De-
fender of the Faith? It is come to this issue, either
purchasers must be robbed of their estates, for which
some of them have paid dear enough, and ready mo-
ney;

prince, like *Charles*; and the eternal
contempt

‘ney; or, he must live upon a general contribution:
‘which latter, I have so honourable thoughts of him,
‘as to believe he would not endure: the former would
‘be dishonest, the latter ignoble: the former would be
‘an oppression, the ruine of many; the latter an in-
‘tolerable burthen to all. How well then will they
‘befriend him, that shall put him upon this dilemma,
‘let our adversaries themselves be judges. Besides, no-
‘body knows how many new delinquents must be made.
‘It would be no easy matter to perswade every man,
‘that hath adhered to the parliament, that their estates
‘should be so much their own, as at the pleasure of pre-
‘rogative; yea, should the strongest obligations imagi-
‘nable be fastened on him, to bind up his hands from
‘doing these roundheads and puritans harme; yet
‘would they hardly bind him and his heirs for ever.
‘Whence must come those rewards that our author
‘[the Interest of *England* stated] promises they shall be
‘sure to find, that have served him in any kind; espec-
‘ally they that are instrumental in his restitution? Cer-
‘tainly want of money, which he must needs be re-
‘duced unto, to gratify them, being abundance, almost
‘innumerable swarms of crawling, croaking, creeping
‘things, that helped to undo his father and him in the
‘late wars, will make invincible necessity good reason of
‘state for some arbitrary proceedings; and then this de-
‘cayed threadbare courtier will beg that Roundheaded
‘Dog for a ward, add that beggarly Cavalier will beg
‘this Puritan, that Presbyterian the other Dependent,

‘or

contempt and infamy they must undergo,

‘ or Anabaptist for a fool ; and, verily, I would have
 ‘ them beg us all for fools, when we have no more wit.
 ‘ And however he may be engaged to forgive us, yet
 ‘ can hardly be obliged to forget us ; we shall be as bad
 ‘ as bound to our good behaviour. It must needs
 ‘ be enough (being added to our former transgression)
 ‘ to entitle us to beggary, if not to the gallows, to pisse
 ‘ against a church wall. The cavaliers, that cannot
 ‘ contain themselves from looking us through and
 ‘ through, and cursing us to our faces, while they are
 ‘ scarce yet in so good condition as to call it a state mi-
 ‘ litant, will make no great trouble of it, when they ar-
 ‘ rive at their state triumphant, to pick a hole in our
 ‘ coats, that they may pick our pockets ; and it is won-
 ‘ derful if they do not pick out our eyes (f).’ —

Milton, whose love of liberty, and of his country, was
 ever uppermost in his breast, took on him likewise to
 point out the effects of the restoration of monarchy.
 His words are too remarkable to be omitted. ----- ‘ If
 ‘ we return to kingship,’ says this divine man, ‘ and
 ‘ soon repent (as undoubtedly we shall, when we begin
 ‘ to find the old encroachments coming on by little and
 ‘ little upon our consciences, which must necessarily
 ‘ proceed from king and bishops united inseparably in
 ‘ one interest), we may be forced, perhaps, to fight over
 ‘ again all that we have fought, and spend over again
 ‘ all that we have spent ; but are never like to attain
 ‘ thus far as we have now advanced to the recovery of
 ‘ our freedom, never to have it in possession as we now
 ‘ have it, never to be vouchsafed hereafter the like mer-
 ‘ cies

(f) *Id. p.*
 12.

dergo, by voluntarily submitting to a
yoke,

‘ cies and signal assistances from heaven in our cause,
‘ if, by our ungrateful backsliding, we make these fruit-
‘ less; flying now to regal concessions from his divine
‘ condescensions, and gracious answers, to our once-im-
‘ portuning prayers against the tyranny which we then
‘ groaned under; making vain, and viler than dirt, the
‘ blood of so many thousand faithful and valiant *Eng-*
‘ *lishmen*, who left us in this liberty, bought with their
‘ lives; losing, by a strange after-game of folly, all the
‘ battles we have won, together with all *Scotland*, as to
‘ our conquest, hereby lost, which never any of our
‘ kings could conquer, all the treasure we have spent,
‘ not that corruptible treasure only, but that, far more
‘ precious of all, our late miraculous deliverances;
‘ treading back again, with lost labour, all our happy
‘ steps in the progress of reformation, and most pitifully
‘ depriving ourselves the instant fruition of that free
‘ government which we have so dearly purchased, a
‘ free commonwealth, not only held, by wisest men in
‘ all ages, the noblest, the manliest, the equallest, the
‘ justest government, the most agreeable to all due li-
‘ berty and proportioned equality, both human, civil,
‘ and Christian, most cherishing to virtue and true reli-
‘ gion; but also (I may say it with greatest probability)
‘ plainly commended, or rather enjoined, by our Saviour
‘ himself, to all Christians, not without remarkable dis-
‘ allowance, and the brand of *Gentilism* upon kingship.
‘ ---- A king must be adored like a demi-god, with a
‘ dissolute and haughty court about him, of vast expence
‘ and

yoke, they, at so great an expence of
blood

‘ and luxury, masks and revels, to the debauching of
 ‘ our prime gentry, both male and female, not in their
 ‘ pastimes only, but in earnest, by the loose employ-
 ‘ ments of court-service, which will be then thought
 ‘ honourable. There will be a queen of no less charge;
 ‘ in most likelihood outlandish and a papist, besides a
 ‘ queen-mother, such already; together with both their
 ‘ courts, and numerous train: then a royal issue, and ere
 ‘ long severally their sumptuous courts; to the multiply-
 ‘ ing of a servile crew, not of servants only, but of no-
 ‘ bility and gentry, bred up then to the hopes not of
 ‘ publick, but of court offices, to be stewards, cham-
 ‘ berlains, ushers, grooms, even of the close-stool; and
 ‘ the lower their minds debased with court opinions,
 ‘ contrary to all virtue and reformation, the haughtier
 ‘ will be their pride and profuseness. — As to the
 ‘ burden of expence, to our cost we shall soon know it;
 ‘ for any good to us, deserving to be termed no better
 ‘ than the vast and lavish price of our subjection, and
 ‘ their debauchery, which we are now so greedily cheap-
 ‘ ning, and would so fain be paying most inconsiderately to
 ‘ a single person; who, for any thing wherein the publick
 ‘ really needs him, will have little else to do, but to be-
 ‘ stow the eating and drinking of excessive dainties, to
 ‘ set a pompous face upon the superficial actings of state,
 ‘ to pageant himself up and down in a progress among
 ‘ the perpetual bowings and cringings of an abject peo-
 ‘ ple, on either side deifying and adoring him for nothing
 ‘ done that can deserve it. For what can he more than

blood and treasure, had bravely thrown
off.

‘ another man? who, even in the expression of a late
‘ court-poet, sits only like a great cypher set to no pur-
‘ pose before a long row of other significant figures.
‘ Nay, it is well and happy for the people, if their king
‘ be but a cypher, being oftentimes a mischief, a pest, a
‘ scourge of the nation, and, which is worse, not to be
‘ removed, not to be controuled, much less accused or
‘ brought to punishment, without the danger of a com-
‘ mon ruin, without the shaking and almost subversion
‘ of the whole land: whereas in a free commonwealth,
‘ any governor or free counsellor, offending, may be re-
‘ moved and punished without the least commotion.
‘ Certainly then that people must needs be mad, or
‘ strangely infatuated, that build the chief hope of their
‘ common happiness or safety on a single person; who,
‘ if he happen to be good, can do no more than another
‘ man: if to be bad, hath in his hands to do more evil
‘ without check, than millions of other men. The
‘ happiness of a nation must needs be firmest and cer-
‘ tainest in full and free council of their own electing,
‘ where no single person, but reason only, sways: and
‘ what madness is it for them who might manage nobly
‘ their own affairs themselves, sluggishly and weakly to
‘ devolve all on a single person; and, more like boys
‘ under age than men, to commit all to his patronage
‘ and disposal, who neither can perform what he under-
‘ takes, and yet, for undertaking it, though royally paid,
‘ will not be their servant, but their lord? How un-
‘ manly must it needs be to count such a-one the breath

‘ of

off. — It was, however, all lost labour.

‘ of our nostrils, to hang all our felicity on him, all our
 ‘ safety, our well-being, for which, if we were ought
 ‘ else but sluggards or babies, we need depend on none
 ‘ but God and our own counsels, our own active virtue
 ‘ and industry? — It may be well wondered that any
 ‘ nation, stiling themselves free, can suffer any man to
 ‘ pretend hereditary right over them as their lord;
 ‘ whenas by acknowledging that right, they conclude
 ‘ themselves his servants and his vassals, and so renounce
 ‘ their own freedom. Which how a people, and their
 ‘ leaders especially, can do, who have fought so glori-
 ‘ ously for liberty; how they can change their noble
 ‘ words and actions, heretofore so becoming the ma-
 ‘ jesty of a free people, into the base necessity of court-
 ‘ flatteries and prostrations; is not only strange and ad-
 ‘ mirable, but lamentable to think on. That a nation
 ‘ should be so valorous and couragious to win their li-
 ‘ berty in the field, and, when they have won it, should
 ‘ be so heartless and unwise in their counsels, as not to
 ‘ know how to use, value it, what to do with it or them-
 ‘ selves; but, after ten or twelve years prosperous war
 ‘ and contestation with tyranny, basely and besottedly
 ‘ run their necks again into the yoke which they have
 ‘ broken, and prostrate all the fruits of their victory,
 ‘ for nought, at the feet of the vanquished; besides, our
 ‘ loss of glory, and such an example as kings or ty-
 ‘ rants never yet had the like to boast of, will be an ig-
 ‘ nominy, if it befall us, that never yet befell any na-
 ‘ tion possessed of their liberty; worthy indeed them-
 ‘ selves,

bour. No attention was given to them.

The

‘ selves, whatsoever they be, to be for ever slaves ; but
 ‘ that part of the nation which consents not with them,
 ‘ as I persuade me of a great number, far worthier than
 ‘ by their means to be brought into the same bondage.
 ‘ — But admit that monarchy may be convenient to
 ‘ some nations ; yet to us who have thrown it out, re-
 ‘ ceived back again, it cannot but prove pernicious.
 ‘ For kings to come, never forgetting their former
 ‘ ejection, will be sure to fortify and arm themselves
 ‘ sufficiently for the future against all such attempts
 ‘ hereafter from the people ; who shall then be so nar-
 ‘ rowly watched, and kept so low, that, though they
 ‘ would never so fain, and at the same rate of their
 ‘ blood and treasure, they shall never be able to regain
 ‘ what they now have purchased and may enjoy, or to
 ‘ free themselves from any yoke imposed upon them : nor
 ‘ will they dare to go about it ; utterly disheartened for
 ‘ the future, if these their highest attempts prove un-
 ‘ successful : which will be the triumph of all tyrants
 ‘ hereafter over any people that shall resist oppression ;
 ‘ and their song will then be to others, How sped the
 ‘ rebellious *English* ? To our posterity, How sped the
 ‘ rebels, your fathers ? — Yet neither shall we obtain or
 ‘ buy, at an easy rate, this new gilded yoke which thus
 ‘ transports us : a new royal revenue must be found,
 ‘ a new episcopal ; for those are individual : both which
 ‘ being wholly dissipated, or bought by private persons,
 ‘ or assigned for service done, and especially to the army,
 ‘ cannot be recovered without general detriment and
 ‘ confusion to mens estates, or a heavy imposition on

‘ all

The disposition of the people, aided by
the

‘ all mens purses; benefit to none but the worst and ignoblest sort of men, whose hope is either to be the ministers of court-riot and excess, or the gainers by it. But not to speak more of losses and extraordinary levies upon our estates, what will be the revenges and offences remembered and returned, not only by the chief person, but by all his adherents; accounts and reparations that will be required, suits and indite-ments, inquiries, discoveries, complaints, informations, who knows against whom or how many? though perhaps neuters, if not to utmost infliction, yet to imprisonment, fines, banishment, or molestation? if not these, yet disfavour, discountenance, disregard and contempt on all, but the known Royalist or whom he favours, will be plenteous. Nor let the new royalized Presbyterians persuade themselves that their old doings, though now recanted, will be forgotten; whatever conditions be contrived or trusted on. Will they not believe this; nor remember the pacification how it was kept to the *Scots*, how other solemn promises many a time to us? Let them but now read the diabolical forerunning libels, the faces, the gestures that now appear foremost and briskest in all publick places, as the harbingers of those that are in expectation to reign over us; let them but hear the insolencies, the menacings, the insultings of our newly animated common enemies crept lately out of their holes, their hell, I might say, by the language of their infernal pamphlets, the spue of every drunkard, every ribald; nameless, yet not for want of license, but for very shame of their own vile persons, not daring to name

the deep diffimulation of *Moncke*, brought
about

‘ themselves, while they traduce others by name; and
‘ give us to foresee, that they intend to second their
‘ wicked words, if ever they have power, by more
‘ wicked deeds. Let our zealous backsliders forethink
‘ now with themselves, how their necks yoked with
‘ these tygers of Bacchus, these new fanatics of not the
‘ preaching but the sweating-tub, inspired with nothing
‘ holier than the venereal pox, can draw one way under
‘ monarchy to the establisning of Church-discipline
‘ with these new disgorged atheisms; yet shall they not
‘ have the honour to yoke with these, but shall be yo-
‘ ked under them; these shall plow on their backs.
‘ And do they among them who are so forward to bring
‘ in the single person, think to be by him trusted or long
‘ regarded? So trusted they shall be, and so regarded,
‘ as by kings are wont reconciled enemies; neglected
‘ and soon after discarded, if not prosecuted for old
‘ traytors; the first inciters, beginners, and more than
‘ to the third part actors of all that followed. It will
‘ be found also, that there must be then, as necessarily
‘ as now (for the contrary part will still be feared), a
‘ standing army, which for certain shall not be this,
‘ but of the fiercest cavaliers of no less expence, and,
‘ perhaps, again under *Rupert*. But let this army be
‘ sure they shall be soon disbanded, not be sure but they
‘ may as soon be questioned for being in arms against
‘ the king: the same let them fear, who have contri-
‘ buted money; which will amount to no small num-
‘ ber that must then take their turn to be delinquents
‘ and compounders. They who past reason and reco-

‘ very

' very are devoted to kingship, perhaps, will answer,
 ' that a greater part by far of the nation will have it so;
 ' the rest therefore must yield. Not so much to con-
 ' vince these, which I little hope, as to confirm them
 ' who yield not, I reply; that this greatest part have,
 ' both in reason and the trial of just battle, lost the
 ' right of their election of what the government shall
 ' be: of them who have not lost that right, whether
 ' they for kingship be the greater number, who can
 ' certainly determine? Suppose they be, yet of free-
 ' dom they partake all alike, one main end of govern-
 ' ment: which if the greater part value not, but will
 ' degenerately forego, is it just or reasonable that most
 ' voices, against the main end of government, should
 ' enslave the less number that would be free? More
 ' just it is, doubtless, if it come to force, that a less
 ' number compel a greater to retain, which can be no
 ' wrong to them, their liberty, than that a greater num-
 ' ber, for the pleasure of their baseness, compel a less
 ' most injuriously to be their fellow-slaves. They who
 ' seek nothing but their own just liberty, have always
 ' right to win it, and to keep it, whenever they have
 ' power, be the voices never so numerous that oppose
 ' it. And how much we above others are concerned to
 ' defend it from kingship, and from them who, in pur-
 ' suance thereof, so perniciously would betray us and
 ' themselves to most certain misery and thralldom, will
 ' be needless to repeat (b).' — What sense, what ob-
 ' servation, what experience, are manifested in these ex-
 ' tracts? Were not the writers of them prophets, or
 ' more than prophets? ---- Events will determine. *Mil-*

(b) Prose
 Works, vol.
 i. p. 645---
 653.

'ton's close of his 'Ready and easy way to establish a
 'free Commonwealth,' from whence I have extracted
 the above, is so strong and pathetic, that I cannot do
 justice to my subject but by adding it. — 'I have
 'no more,' says he, 'to say, at present. Few words
 'will save us, well considered: few and easy things,
 'now seasonably done. But if the people be so affect-
 'ed, as to prostitute religion and liberty to the vain and
 'groundless apprehension, that nothing but kingship
 'can restore trade, not remembering the frequent plagues
 'and pestilences that then wasted this city; such as,
 'through God's mercy, we have never felt since; and
 'that trade flourishes no where more than in the free
 'commonwealths of *Italy, Germany, and the Low Coun-*
 '*tries,* before their eyes at this day: yet if trade be
 'grown so craving and importunate, through the pro-
 'fuse living of tradesmen, that nothing can support
 'it but the luxurious expences of a nation upon
 'trifles or superfluities; so as if the people should ge-
 'nerally betake themselves to frugality, it might prove a
 'dangerous matter lest tradesmen should mutiny for
 'want of trading; and that therefore we must forego
 'and set to sale religion, liberty, honour, safety, all
 'concernments, divine and human, to keep up trading:
 'if, lastly, after all this light upon us, the same reason
 'shall pass for current, to put our necks again under
 'kingship, as was made use of by the *Jews* to return
 'back to *Egypt*, and to the worship of their idol
 'queen, because they falsely imagined that they then
 'lived in more plenty and prosperity; our condition is
 'not sound but rotten, both in religion and all civil
 'prudence; and will bring us soon, the way we are
 'marching,

‘ marching, to those calamities which attend always
‘ and unavoidably on luxury, all national judgments
‘ under foreign and domestic slavery : so far we shall be
‘ from mending our condition by monarchizing our go-
‘ vernment, whatever new conceit now possesses us.
‘ However, with all hazard, I have ventured what I
‘ thought my duty to speak in season, and to forewarn
‘ my country in time ; wherein I doubt not there be
‘ many wise men, in all places and degrees, but am sorry
‘ the effects of wisdom are so little seen among us.
‘ Many circumstances and particulars I could have added,
‘ in those things whereof I have spoken : but a few main
‘ matters, now put speedily in execution, will suffice to
‘ recover us, and set all right : and there will want, at
‘ no time, who are good at circumstances ; but men
‘ who set their minds on main matters, and sufficiently
‘ urge them, in these most difficult times, I find not
‘ many. What I have spoken, is the language of that
‘ which is not called amiss, The good old cause. If it
‘ seem strange to any, it will not seem more strange, I
‘ hope, than convincing to backsliders. Thus much I
‘ should perhaps have said, tho’ I were sure I should have
‘ spoken only to trees and stones ; and had none to cry
‘ to, but with the prophet, *O earth, earth, earth!* to
‘ tell the very soil itself what her perverse inhabitants
‘ are deaf to. Nay, though what I have spoke should
‘ happen (which thou suffer not, who didst create man-
‘ kind free ; nor thou, next, who didst redeem us from
‘ being the servants of men !) to be the last words of
‘ our expiring liberty. But, I trust, I shall have spoken
‘ persuasion to abundance of sensible and ingenuous
‘ men ; to some, perhaps, whom God may raise of these
‘ stones

about the restoration of *Charles* (NN), to
the

‘stones to become children of reviving liberty; and may
‘reclaim, though they now seem chusing them a cap-
‘tain back for *Egypt*, to bethink themselves a little,
‘and consider whither they are rushing: to exhort this
‘torrent also of the people, not to be so impetuous, but
‘to keep their due channel; and at length recovering
‘and uniting their better resolutions, now that they see
‘already how open and unbounded the insolence and rage
‘is of our common enemies, to stay these ruinous pro-
‘ceedings, justly and timely fearing to what a precipice
‘of destruction the deluge of this epidemick madness
‘would hurry us, through the general defection of a
‘misguided and abused multitude (i).’

(i) Id. p.
652.

(NN) *The disposition of the people, aided by the dissimulation of Moncke, brought about the restoration of Charles.] Moncke was a soldier of fortune. Born of an ancient but decayed family, in Devonshire, he took to the military life, and behaved always with remarkable bravery. He first served the king: afterwards the parliament: next the Cromwells: and then again the parliament; to whom, even after their second interruption, he professed to adhere against all parties. This, however, in the opinion of some, was mere pretence, in order the better to conceal his engagements with the royalists, to whom he is said to have been well affected (k): whilst others think he had no settled purpose and resolution of restoring Charles, till he found the stream running violently that way, and that there was no resisting it, consistently with the views of ambition and*

(k) See
Ludlow, vol.
ii. p. 695;
and Skinner’s
Life of
Moncke, p.
272.

the admiration and astonishment of the
neigh-

and avarice, with which he was well known to be actuated, as well as his own personal safety (*l*). If this be true, and very probably it is so, as *Fairfax*, on a conference with him, could discover no thought in him of declaring for the king; and as the royalists, at home and abroad, seemed very doubtful of his intentions, till after the admission of the secluded members: I say, as this seems to be the case, possibly he might then intend what he meant. For as he only commanded the army in *Scotland*, the post of commander in chief of the forces in *England* and *Scotland*, from which *Fleetwood* had been voted by the parliament, might be the object of his ambition; and fidelity to them, in his then view of things, the method to obtain it. This, probably, occasioned the declarations, signed by himself and the officers, in which they say, ‘that they shall, through the strength of God, assert and maintain the freedom and privilege of the present parliament, that was so often and lately acknowledged the supreme authority of the nations, and not suffer the members thereof to be illegally interrupted or molested in the discharge of their duties (*m*).’ And *Moncke* himself wrote a letter to the Speaker, from *Edinburgh*, dated, *Oct.* 20, 1659, to assure him, ‘that he was resolved, by the grace and assistance of God, as a true *Englishman*, to stand to and assert the liberty and authority of parliament: and the army here,’ says he, ‘(praised be God) is very courageous and unanimous, and, I doubt not, but to give a good account of this action to you. — I do
‘ call

(*l*) See Clarendon, vol. vi. p. 702, 709. Burnet, vol. i. p. 84: and Ormonde's Papers, vol. ii. p. 304, 305, 307.

(*m*) True Narrative, p. 25.

neighbouring nations. ——— And wonderful

‘ call God to witness, that the asserting of a common-
 ‘ wealth is the only intent of my heart ; and I desire, if
 ‘ possible, to avoid the shedding of blood, and therefore
 ‘ entreat you that there may be a good understanding
 ‘ between parliament and army : but if they will not
 ‘ obey your commands, I will not desert you, accord-
 28. (n) Id. p. ‘ ing to my duty and promise (n).’ And in a letter, of
 the same date, to *Fleetwood*, he ‘ takes God to wit-
 ‘ ness, that he had no farther ends than the establishing
 ‘ of parliamentary authority, and those good laws that
 ‘ our ancestors have purchased with so much blood, the
 ‘ settling the nations in a free commonwealth, and the
 ‘ defence of godliness and godly men, though of dif-
 30. (o) Id. p. ‘ ferent judgments (o).’ In several other papers, which
 he caused to be printed and dispersed, he talked in the
 same strain. The officers of the *English* army, who
 had assumed the supream power, alarmed at these bold
 declarations, and knowing they might expect him, in
 consequence of them, in *England*, where he could not
 fail, if he made any progress, of acquiring additional
 strength, ordered several regiments towards the North,
 under the command of *Lambert*. This was on the
 twenty-ninth of the same month. *Lambert*, accord-
 ingly, advanced. In the mean time, to prevent effu-
 sion of blood, a treaty was set on foot, between *Fleet-*
wood and *Moncke*, the latter of which thereby gained
 time, and reaped considerable advantage. For the chief
 leaders in the parliament had the interest and address to
 divide the army in *England*, and to possess some of the
 most

derful it was, truly, that a prince,
banished,

most important places ; by which means, with the addition of *Moncke's* forces, they obtained such a superiority as enabled them to re-assume their authority ; to render ineffectual *Lambert's* expedition ; and to reward *Moncke* for his fidelity and good conduct. For though suspicions of him were gone abroad, and many discerning men thought he masked his intentions ; yet he had managed matters so well, as to be believed by *Hafilrig* and his party, who had the lead in affairs at this crisis. What induced the belief of the parliament was, that *Moncke* always referred every thing to them, and never let fall any thing which favoured of a disinclination to their authority. The gentry of *Devon* had sent up a petition to the speaker to be delivered to the parliament, desiring ‘ the admission of the secluded members, and ‘ the filling up the vacant places, and all to be admitted ‘ without any oath and engagement previous to their ‘ entrance (p).’ What the real intent of this was, was visible. *Moncke* therefore took the liberty to write a letter, to be communicated to the petitioners ; in which he ‘ represented,’ as he said, ‘ to their consideration, ‘ his present apprehensions of the state of affairs here, ‘ in order to all our better satisfactions ; wherein he ‘ humbly craved their leave of freedom without prejudice. Before these unhappy wars,’ continues he, ‘ the government of these nations was monarchical in ‘ church and state. These wars have given birth and ‘ growth to several interests both in church and state, ‘ heretofore

(p) *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 603. p. 1035.

banished, and proscribed, in the midst
of

‘ heretofore not known, though now, upon many
‘ accounts, very considerable ; as the presbyterian, in-
‘ dependent, anabaptist, and sectaries of all sorts, as to
‘ ecclesiastics ; and the purchasers of the king’s, queen’s,
‘ princes, bishops, deans and chapters, and all other for-
‘ feited estates, and all those engaged in these wars against
‘ the king as to civils. These interests again are so interwo-
‘ ven by purchasers and intermarriages, and thereby for-
‘ feited, as, I think, upon rational grounds it may be
‘ taken for granted, that no government can be either
‘ good, peaceful, or lasting, to these nations, that doth
‘ not rationally include and comprehend the security
‘ and preservation of all the foresaid interests, both civil
‘ and spiritual : I mean so far as, by the word of God,
‘ they are warranted to be protected and preserved. If
‘ this be so, then the government under which we for-
‘ merly were, both in state and church, *viz.* mo-
‘ narchy, cannot possibly be admitted for the future in
‘ these nations ; because its support is taken away, and
‘ because it is exclusive of all the former interests, both
‘ civil and spiritual, all of them being incompatible with
‘ monarchical uniformity in church and state thus ex-
‘ pired. That government then that is most able to
‘ comprehend and protect all interests as aforesaid,
‘ must needs be republick. Wherefore to me it is no
‘ small doubt, if, upon the premises, to admit of the
‘ members seclused 1648, were not to obstruct our
‘ peace, and continue our war, rather than establish the
‘ one, and end the other ; in that very many of those

of poverty and distress, unallied and
unconcerned

‘ members assert the monarchical interest, together with
‘ the abolition of all laws made since their seclusion :
‘ which, I fear, upon account of self-preservation both
‘ of life and estate, as well as spiritual liberty, will im-
‘ mediately involve all these nations in a most horrid
‘ and bloody war afresh, the very apprehension whereof,
‘ I confess, I do infinitely dread, and submit the dan-
‘ gerous consequence thereof to your prudent confide-
‘ rations ; and the rather, seeing the army also will ne-
‘ ver endure it. Having now briefly laid before you the
‘ present condition of affairs, let me now intreat you
‘ to consider, whether it were not better to desist from
‘ that paper, and to submit to the proceedings of this
‘ parliament, who have resolved to fill up their house,
‘ determine their sitting, and prepare a way for future
‘ successions of parliament: by which means, being
‘ full, and thereby comprehending the whole interest of
‘ these nations, they may, through God’s mercy, and
‘ all our patiences, establish such a government, in the
‘ way of a commonwealth, as may be comprehensive
‘ of all interests both spiritual and civil, to the glory of
‘ God, and the weal and peace of the whole. But if,
‘ by your impatiences, they be obstructed, our peace
‘ will be so much the longer a stranger to us ; and we,
‘ thereby, a prey to ourselves, and all foreign ene-
‘ mies (q).’ — This letter is dated, *Leicester, Jan.*
21, 1659, as *Moncke* was in march to *London*, attended
by *Scot* and *Robinson*, commissioners from the parlia-
ment, whom he treated with much respect. The same
manner

(q) Ken-
net’s Regis-
ter and
Chronicle, p.
32.

unconcerned for by his fellow-princes,
should

manner of speech he constantly used in his journey; and, when arrived at *London*, he, for a time, retained it. On the 6th of *February*, 1659, the general was introduced into the house, and thanked by the speaker 'for his eminent services.' In reply, he told them, 'that, as he marched from *Scotland*, he observed the people in most counties, in great and earnest expectations of settlement. — 'The chiefest heads of their desires,' added he, 'were for a free and full parliament, and that you would determine your sitting; a gospel ministry, encouragement of learning and universities, and for admittance of the members secluded before 1648, without any previous oath or engagement. To which I commonly answered, that you are now in a free parliament; and if there be any force remaining upon you, I would endeavour to remove it: and that you had voted to fill up your house, and then you would be a full parliament also; and that you had already determined your sitting: and for the ministry, their maintenance, the laws, and universities, you had largely declared in your last declaration; and I was confident you would adhere to it. But as to those gentlemen, excluded in the year 1648, I told them, you had given judgment in it; and all people ought to acquiesce in that judgment. But to admit any members to sit in parliament without a previous oath or engagement to secure the government in being, it was never yet done in *England*. And although I said it not then, I must say it, with pardon to you, that

' the

should be thus almost unanimously in-
vited

‘the less oaths and engagements are imposed (with respect had to the common cause), your settlement will be the sooner attained to. I am the more particular in these matters, to let you see, how grateful your present consultations about these things will be to the people. I know, all the sober gentry will heartily close with you, if they may be tenderly and gently used; and I am sure you will so use them, as knowing it to be our common concern to expatiate, and not narrow our interest: and to be careful that neither the cavalier, or the phanatic party, have yet a share in your civil or military power (r).’ All this has the air of much sincerity; and if *Moncke* at this time dissembled, he must have had a very rare hand at it! *Milton* certainly thought him sincere in his declaration to the parliament (s). But the general rested not in words. The house, being provoked by the city of *London’s* refusing to pay taxes without they were imposed by a free parliament, had ordered forces to march therein, to reduce it to obedience; to take away the post, and chains; unhinge the gates, and wedge in the portcullices; to seize any of the late officers concerned in the interruption of the parliament, who had been ordered to leave the town; and some of the citizens, most active in opposing their authority (t). The care of this was committed to *Moncke*; who secured most of the citizens, and took down the posts, chains, gates, and portcullices, amidst the murmurings and execrations of the

(r) Id. p. 49.

(s) Prose
Works, p.
641.

(t) Journal,
Feb. 9,
1659.

vited back, and received with the loudest

people. This was a rash act in the parliament; and as rash a one in *Moncke*, supposing him to have those views then which he shortly after had. For, on that supposition, he should carefully have avoided provoking a body of men so respectable, on account of their wealth and influence in the kingdom. But he seemed intent only on pleasing his masters, and evidencing the sincerity of his professions of obedience to them. However, from this time he appears to me to have changed his sentiments, and to have determined to take the management of affairs chiefly into his own hands. He was become sensible of his imprudence in disobliging the city; and therefore set himself by every method to regain their good will. He spoke ‘of the execution of
‘the parliaments orders as grievous to him, and the officers and soldiers under his command; and that,’ continues he, ‘because we do not remember any such thing
‘that was acted upon this city in all these wars: and
‘we fear that many sober people are much grieved at it,
‘and apprehend further force to be offered to them,
‘while they seem principally to desire the speedy filling
‘up of the house, which you have declared for, as
‘well as we have express’d our just desires of, and
‘are apt to doubt lest what we have done may be so far
‘from answering the expected end, as that it may increase the discomposure of mens spirits in the nation.’ This was written in a letter to the parliament, dated, *Feb. 11*, two days after the expedition against the city, and signed by the general and his officers. After this
they

est acclamations ! and equally wonderful

they go on to censure many of the proceedings of the parliament : and then, in the style of authority, say, — ‘ We would desire, that, whilst you sit, your utmost endeavours may be to manifest your affectionate desires for the publick good of these nations. Our farther desire is, that that those regiments under your consideration (whose officers are not) may be speedily pass’d. And in regard we find that the grand cause of the present heats and dissatisfactions in the nation is, because they are not fully represented in parliament ; and seeing no other probable expedient, whereby to keep the nation in peace, than by filling up your number ; we must therefore make this our main desire, upon which we cannot but *insist*, that you would proceed to issue forth writs in order to elections ; for the better effecting whereof, we entreat, that you would conclude upon due and full qualifications ; that not only those who have been actually in arms against the parliament may be excluded ; but also such who, in the late wars betwixt king and parliament, have declared their disaffection to the parliament. And because the distracted condition of this nation is, at this hour, so evident and pressing ; we are constrained, for the just maintenance of your authority, and the satisfaction of all true *Englishmen*, earnestly to desire, that all the writs may be issued forth by *Friday* next, returnable at the usual and legal time : for we think it convenient to acquaint you, that, to pacify the minds of this great city, in the prosecution of your late command, the chief of us did give assurance thereof. And we must

Y²

‘ not

ful it was, that the parliament, chosen
in

‘ not forget to remember you, that the time hastens
‘ wherein you have declared your intended dissolution;
‘ which the people and ourselves desire you would
‘ be punctual in. Hereby the suspicion of your per-
‘ petuation will be taken away; and the people will
‘ have assurance, that they shall have a succession of
‘ parliaments of their own election; which is the un-
‘ doubted right of the *English* nation. You have pro-
‘ mised and declared no less; both the people and your
‘ armies do live in the hope and expectation of it. That
‘ we may the better wait for your full and free concur-
‘ rence to these just desires on the nations behalf, upon
‘ mature deliberation, we have thought it our duty, as
‘ to continue the usual guards for the safety of your
‘ fitting; so, for the present, to draw the rest of the
‘ forces under our command into the city, formerly re-
‘ nowned for their resolute adhering to parliamentary
‘ authority; and we hope that the same spirit will be
‘ found still to breathe amongst the best, most confi-
‘ derable, and interested persons there (u).’ Thus was
the parliament treated by the man who had so much
cried up their authority; who was looked on as their
saviour; for whom they had done every thing he could
reasonably ask; and who might have had from them al-
most what he pleased! But it was the lot of this par-
liament to be ill-treated by their own servants; by men
whom they had most obliged, and in whom they had
most confided! A caution to posterity, not to trust
the power of the sword too much or too long in the
same

(u) Parlia-
mentary
Hist. vol.
xxii. p. 101.

in view of this event, should, contrary
to

same hands ; left military men bear rule, and order every thing according to their own good pleasure. ---- After this, *Moncke* devoted himself to the citizens ; and, in compliance with their inclinations, prevailed with the parliament, who had now no power to resist the torrent, to admit the secluded members ; who soon fell to vacate all orders which were displeasing to them, or contrary to their views (x).’ The eyes of those who had applauded *Moncke*, and lifted him up to his present height, were now opened. They saw themselves deceived : and, what was more, contemned (y). But as this behaviour was alarming to many who had been concerned in public affairs ; and as the soldiery in the nation, of whom *Moncke’s* army made by far the least part, might penetrate his views, which few sensible men could be ignorant of ; he endeavoured to impose on them by the same talk he had used from the beginning. In a letter from the Lord General *Moncke*, and the officers here, to the several and respective regiments, and other forces in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, dated, *Whitehall*, *Feb. 21*, 1659, we find the following expressions : ‘ We desire to take God to witness, that we ‘ have no intentions or purposes to return to our old ‘ bondage : but since the providence of God hath made ‘ us free at the cost of so much blood, we hope we shall ‘ never be found so unfaithful to God and his people, as ‘ to lose so glorious a cause : but we do resolve, with ‘ the assistance of God, to adhere to you in the continuing of our dear-purchased liberties, both spiritual and ‘ civil. The reason of our proceedings in this manner

(x) See
Whitlocke,
p. 696.

(y) See
Ludlow, vol.
ii, p. 866.

to sense, honesty, justice, and the security

‘ [the admission of the secluded members], may seem
 ‘ strange ; but if you duly consider the necessity of our
 ‘ affairs, and the present state of things, you will cer-
 ‘ tainly conclude nothing so safe to secure publick in-
 ‘ terest, and to engage the nations peaceably to submit
 ‘ to a free state. — And as we are confident the pre-
 ‘ sent parliament, now sitting, will not repeal any of
 ‘ the acts, ordinances, or orders of this parliament, for
 ‘ sales, or public disposition of lands ; so we shall in
 ‘ our station observe, and cause to be observed, all
 ‘ other acts and ordinances of this parliament, whatso-
 ‘ ever ; and humbly interpose with the next succeeding
 ‘ parliament, not only to pass a farther act of confirm-
 ‘ ation of all such sales and dispositions of lands here
 ‘ and in *Scotland*, but also of all the distributions and dis-
 ‘ positions of lands and houses in *Ireland*, to the sol-
 ‘ diery, adventurers, or any other persons, made by or
 ‘ in pursuance of any of the acts, ordinances, or or-
 ‘ ders, of this present parliament, or any pretended
 ‘ parliamentary authority. And we entreat you to send
 ‘ up an officer, to give, to the Lord General *Moncke*,
 ‘ an account of your acquiescence with us herein : and
 ‘ if any disaffected persons shall hereby take occasion to
 ‘ make disturbance of the peace of the commonwealth,
 ‘ either in favour of *Charles Stuart* or any other pre-
 ‘ tended authority, we desire you to secure them, till the
 ‘ pleasure of the parliament or council of state be known
 ‘ in that behalf (z).’ And in a discourse, which was
 read on the same day, at *Whitehall*, to the secluded
 members, by his direction, he expressed himself
 strongly

(z) Mer-
 curius Poli-
 ticus, No.
 608, p.
 1120.

curity of the rights and liberties of
the

strongly in behalf of a commonwealth government. 'I thought,' said he, 'to assure you, and
' that in the presence of God, that I have nothing be-
' fore my eyes but Gods glory, and the settlement of
' these nations upon commonwealth foundations. In
' pursuit whereof, I shall think nothing too dear; and
' for my own particular, I shall throw myself down at
' your feet, to be any thing or nothing, in order to these
' great ends. As to the way of future settlement, far be it
' from me to impose any thing: I desire you may be in
' perfect freedom. Only give me leave to mind you,
' that the old foundations are, by Gods providence, so
' broken, that, in the eye of reason, they cannot be re-
' stored, but upon the ruins of the people of these na-
' tions, that have engaged for their rights in the de-
' fence of the parliament, and the great and main ends
' of the covenant, for uniting and making the Lords
' name one in the three nations: and also the liberty
' of the peoples representatives in parliament, will be
' certainly lost. For if the people find, that, after so
' long and bloody a war against the king for breaking in
' upon their liberties, yet, at last, he must be taken in
' again; it will be out of question, and is most mani-
' fest, he may for the future govern by his will, dispose
' of parliaments, and parliament men, as he pleaseth,
' and yet the people will never more rise for their as-
' sistance. As for the interests of this famous city
' (which hath been in all ages the bulwark of parlia-
' ments, and unto whom I am, for their great affec-
tion,

the nation ; that the parliament, I say,
should

tion, so deeply engaged), certainly it must lie in a
commonwealth ; that government only being capable
to make them (through the Lords blessing) the metro-
polis and bank of trade for all Christendom, where-
unto God and nature hath fitted them, above all others.
And as to a government in the church, the want
whereof hath been no small cause of these national
distractions, it is most manifest, that, if it be mo-
narchical in the state, the church must follow, and
prelacy must be brought in ; which these nations, I
know, cannot bear, and against which they have so
solemnly sworne. And, indeed, moderate, not rigid,
presbyterian government, with a sufficient liberty for
consciences truly tender, appears, at present, to be the
most indifferent and acceptable way to the churches set-
tlement. The main thing that seems to lie in the way,
is the interest of the lords ; even of those lords that
have shewed themselves noble indeed, by joining with
the people ; and in defence of those just rights, have
adventured their dearest blood and large estates. To
that I shall only say, that though the state of these
nations be such as cannot bear their sitting in a dis-
tinct house ; yet, certainly, the wisdom of parliament
will find out such hereditary marks of honor for them,
as may make them more noble in after-ages (a). —
What dissimulation, what hypocrisy this ! No one
surely will pretend to doubt of the falshood of *Moncke*
in these transactions ; or scruple to condemn him for it.
Ludlow assures us, and his word will be taken by
every one who knows the honesty of the man and the
consistency

(a) Id. p.
1121.

should permit him to ascend the throne,
without

consistency of his narratives with the journals of the commons and other the most authentic authorities of these times : *Ludlow*, I say, assures us, that, after the admission of the secluded members, ‘ some of the ‘ members of the lawful parliament went to *Moncke*, to ‘ be informed, from his own mouth, of the reasons ‘ of these proceedings. He received them with no ‘ less civility than formerly ; and having understood from them the occasion of their coming, he ‘ made as solemn protestations of his zeal to a commonwealth government as he had ever done : desiring ‘ them to believe, that the permission he had given to ‘ the secluded members to enter the house, was only to ‘ free himself from their importunity ; and that he would ‘ take effectual care to prevent them from doing any hurt ‘ in that place. But these gentlemen, having resolved ‘ to try him to the utmost, demanded farther, if he ‘ would join with them against *Charles Stuart* and his ‘ party ? In answer to which, he applied himself to ‘ *Sir Arthur Haslrig*, who was one of them, and said, ‘ *Sir Arthur*, I have often declared to you my resolution ‘ so to do. Then taking off his glove, and putting his ‘ hand within *Sir Arthurs*, he added, I do here protest to ‘ you, in the presence of all these gentlemen, that I will ‘ oppose, to the utmost, the setting up of *Charles Stuart*, ‘ a single person, or a house of peers. After this, he began to expostulate with them, touching their suspicions ; saying, What is it that I have done in bringing these members into the house ? Are they not the ‘ same

without any conditions, or engagements.

To

(b) Vol.
ii. p. 846.

‘same that brought the king to the block? tho’ others
‘cut off his head, and that justly (b).’ After this, lit-
tle followed but devices to weaken and suppress the com-
monwealth party, and to raise the hopes of the royalists.
Some of the most active men, among the former, were
deprived of their commands, committed to prison, or
obliged to fly for safety. And to point out what was in
view the more strongly, it was resolved, ‘That the
‘*Engagement*, which after *Cromwells* government had
‘been again revived, should be discharg’d, and taken off
‘the file (c);’ and ‘that the actings of the house, en-
‘forced by the pressing necessities of the present times,
‘were not intended in the least to infringe, much less
‘to take away, that antient native right, which the house
‘of peers, consisting of the lords who did engage in the
‘cause of the parliament, against the forces raised in the
‘name of the late king, and so continued until 1648,
‘had, and have, to be a part of the parliament of *Eng-*
‘*land* (d).’

(d) Id.
16th Mar.

This was open. — But to shew that they were not
lost wholly to all sense of their own and the public
safety, they had before resolved, ‘That all and every
‘person, and persons, who advised, or voluntarily aided,
‘abetted, or assisted, in any war against the parliament,
‘since the first of *January*, 1641, unless he or they had
‘since manifested their good affections to this parlia-
‘ment, should be incapable to be elected to serve mem-
‘bers in the next parliament (e):’ which was to be called
and

(e) Id.
March 13.

To whom the nation was indebted
for

and held on the 25th day of *April*, 1660; and which, in pursuance of this act, actually assembled, and soon after, *May* 5th, called in *Charles* and his dependents. — Thus was this parliament, consisting of some of the wisest, ablest, most industrious men this nation ever saw, over-reached by *Moncke*, who was no accomplished courtier or statesman (*f*)! An arrant hypocrite we have seen he was; but his hypocrisy would have been of no avail against the wisdom of his masters, had it not been seconded by divisions amongst themselves, and by the general voice of the people, which it was next to impossible for the one or the other to have withstood. ‘The usurped powers,’ says Sir *William Temple*, ‘that had either designed no root, or, at least, had drawn none, but only in the affections and interests of those that were engaged with the government, thought themselves secure in the strength of an unfoiled army of above sixty thousand men, and in a revenue proportionable, raised by the awe of their forces, though with the mock-forms of legal supplies by pretended parliaments; yet we saw them forced to give way to the bent and current humour of the people, in favour of their antient and lawful government; and this mighty army, of a sudden, lose their heart and their strength, abandon what they so long called their cause and their interest, and content themselves to be moulded again into the mass of the people; and by conspiring with the general humour of the nation, make way for the king’s glorious restoration, without a drop of blood drawn in the end of a quarrel, the beginning and course whereof had been so fatal to the kingdom (*g*).’

(*f*) Whitlock, p. 699.

(*g*) Works,
vol. i. p.
55. 8vo.
To Lond. 1757.

for this act of treachery and baseness, is worthy of enquiry (oo). — On the eighth day

(oo) *To whom the nation was indebted for the admission of Charles, without conditions, is worthy of enquiry.*] The admission of the king, in the circumstances in which affairs then stood, might have been a right step, as it was the only probable means, amidst so many different parties and interests, so much hatred and animosity, of restoring the public tranquillity, and fixing the government on lasting foundations. For there was not virtue enough in the age to sacrifice private resentments, and private interests, to the public good; and to submit to that equality, on which a true commonwealth must be founded. The nation in general, as we have seen, were desirous of the restoration of the king; and every nation has an undoubted right to chuse the form of government to which they are to submit. Who were the instruments of bringing about this great change; who the authors of its being made in the manner it was; are the questions that are now to be decided.

As to the first, it was, properly, the presbyterians: the men who had opposed *Charles* the First, and, to their honor, would not consent to his re-admission to the government, but upon terms. Of this party, were the secluded members: who were very popular in the nation; who had always given uneasiness to the commonwealth government, and to *Cromwell*; and, after their re-admission into the house, set at liberty *Booth*, *Lauderdale*, and others, who were confined on account of adhering to the royal cause. — ‘*Hollis* told me,’ says *Burnet*, ‘the presbyterians pressed the royalists to be
‘ quiet,

day of *May*, one thousand six hundred
and

‘ quiet, and to leave the game in their hands : for their
‘ appearing would give jealousy, and hurt that which
‘ they meant to promote. He, and *Ashley Cooper*, *Grim-*
‘ *stone*, and *Annesly*, met often with *Manchester*, *Ro-*
‘ *berts*, and the rest of the presbyterian party ; and the
‘ ministers of *London* were very active in the city : so
‘ that when *Moncke* came up, he was pressed to declare
‘ himself. At first, he would only declare for the par-
‘ liament that *Lambert* had forced. But there was then
‘ a great fermentation all over the nation. *Moncke* and
‘ the Parliament grew jealous of one another ; even
‘ while they tried who could give the best words, and
‘ express their confidence in the highest terms, of one
‘ another.’ — And in another place, he says, ‘ *Shaftef-*
‘ *bury*, *Anglesey*, *Hollis*, *Manchester*, and *Roberts*, had
‘ the chief hand in engaging the nation in the design of
‘ the restoration. They had great credit, chiefly with
‘ the presbyterian party ; and were men of much dex-
‘ terity : so that the thanks of that great turn was ow-
‘ ing to them (b).’ Lord *Clarendon* writes, ‘ that
‘ *Moncke* was present at *Northumberland House*, in a con-
‘ ference with that Earl, the Earl of *Manchester*, and
‘ other lords ; and likewise with *Hollis*, Sir *William*
‘ *Waller*, *Lewis*, and other eminent persons ; who had
‘ a trust and confidence in each other, and who were
‘ looked upon as the heads and governors of the mode-
‘ rate presbyterian party ; who, most of them, would
‘ have been contented, their own security being pro-
‘ vided for, that the king should be restored to his full
‘ rights,

(b) Vol.
i. p. 85, and
p. 98.

and fixty, *Charles II.* was proclaimed ;
and

‘ rights, and the church to its possessions. In this conference, the kings restoration was proposed in direct terms ; as absolutely necessary to the peace of the kingdom, and for the satisfaction of the people : and the question seemed only to be, upon what terms they should admit him ; some proposing more moderate, others more severe conditions. In this whole debate, the General [*Moncke*] insisted upon the most rigid propositions ; which he pressed in such a manner, that the lords grew jealous that he had such an aversion from restoring the king, that it would not be safe for them to prosecute that advice ; and therefore it were best to acquiesce till the parliament met, and that they could make some judgment of the temper of it (i).’ —
Baxter, speaking of these transactions, says, ‘ Sir *William Morrice*, and Mr. *Clarges*, were *Monckes* great advisers. The Earl of *Manchester*, Mr. *Calamy*, and other presbyterians, encouraged and perswaded him to bring in the king : at first he joined with the Rump against the Citizens, and pulled down the city gates to master them : but, at last, Sir *Thomas Allen*, then Lord Mayor (by the perswasion of Dr. *Jacomb*, and some other presbyterian ministers and citizens, as he hath oft told me himself), invited *Moncke* into the city, and drew him to agree and join with them against the Rump (as they then called the relicts of the parliament). And this, in truth, was the act that turned the scales, and brought in the king. After this, the old excluded members of the
‘ parlia-

(i) Vol. vi.
p. 733.

and in the proclamation, which had the
appro-

‘parliament meet with *Moncke*; he calleth them to sit,
‘and that the king might come in both by him and by
‘them. He agreeth with them to sit but a few days;
‘and then dissolve themselves, and call another parlia-
‘ment. They consented, and prepared for the kings
‘restoration; and appointed a council of state, and dis-
‘solved themselves. Another parliament is chosen,
‘which calleth in the king; the council of state having
‘made further preparations for it. For when the
‘question was, Whether they should call in the king
‘upon treaty and covenant (which some thought best
‘for him and the nation), the council resolved absolutely
‘to trust him, Mr. *A[nnesly]*, especially perswading
‘them so to do (k).’ — And in another place, he
observes, ‘that *Moncke* came on, but still declared for
‘a commonwealth against monarchy: till, at last, when
‘he saw all ripened thereto, he declared for the king.
‘The chief men, as far as I can learn,’ continues he,
‘that turned his resolution to bring in the king, were,
‘Mr. *Clarges*, and Sir *William Morrice* his kinsman;
‘and the petitions and affections of the city of *London*,
‘principally moved by Mr. *Calamy* and Mr. *Ash*, two
‘antient, leading, able ministers (with Dr. *Bates*, Dr.
‘*Manton*, Dr. *Jaçomb*, and other ministers of *London*,
‘who concurred: and these were encouraged by the Earl
‘of *Manchester*, the Lord *Hollis*, the late Earl of *An-*
‘*glesey* [*Annesly*], and many of the then council of state:
‘and the members of the old parliament, that had been
‘formerly

(k) Reli-
quiae Baxter-
ianæ, part i.
p. 105.

approbation of both houses, it was asserted,

(*l*) Id. p.
214.

(*m*) Works,
p. 634. 8vo.
Lond. 1694.

(*n*) Sidney's
Papers, vol. ii.
p. 685. fol.
Lond. 1746.

‘ formerly ejected, being recalled, did dissolve themselves,
‘ and appoint the calling of a parliament which might
‘ recal the king (*l*).’ — Lord *Warrington*, son of
Sir *George Booth*, asserts, that ‘ it was the presbyterians
‘ who were chiefly instrumental in his majesty’s restora-
‘ tion ; whilst others, who called themselves the royal
‘ party, sate still to see the game play’d : and when they
‘ saw which way the scales would turn, were ready to
‘ applaud the victor, let it fall to which side it
‘ would (*m*).’ — These authorities, I suppose, may
be sufficient to evince, that the presbyterians were
principally concerned in the restoration of *Charles II*.
—— But, zealous and active as these men were to
introduce his majesty, they were not quite so wrong-
headed as to imagine he ought to be admitted without
conditions. — ‘ All persons here,’ says Lord
Northumberland, in a letter to Lord *Leicester*, dated,
London, Ap. 13, 1660, ‘ shew strong inclinations to
‘ bring in the king, and re-establish the government
‘ upon the old foundation. Some there are, that would
‘ have him restored to all, without any condition, only
‘ an act of oblivion, and general pardon to be granted ;
‘ but the soberer people will, I believe, expect terms of
‘ more security for themselves, and advantage for the na-
‘ tion : and unless a full satisfaction be given in such
‘ points, as shall be judged necessary to those ends, it
‘ is thought, the army will not be pleased (*n*).’ Lord
Broghill, in a letter to Mr. *Thurloe*, dated, *Dublin*,
May 8, 1660, writes as follows : ‘ I confess your
‘ last

ed, ' that, immediately, upon the death
' of

' last favour, of the 1st instant, did not a little amaze
' me. So unanimous and great a progress made in one
' day, by both houses, in so weighty a business, may
' cause a man to wonder as much as any thing has hap-
' pened in this age, which hath been not unfruitful in
' admirable productions. I heartily beg of the Lord, that
' our steps may be as safe as they are expeditious; and
' that we may ascertain those just rights, by an agree-
' ment, which we contended for so successfully in the
' war. I'll assure you many of us pray heartily for the
' parliament; and we think we never had more reason
' to do so than now, our whole settlement being now
' to be concluded on: and what is now done will hardly
' admit of the least amendment, though we might after-
' wards discover never so great an oversight (o).'

(o) *Thur-*
loe, vol. vii.
p. 912.

Nor did the friends of *Charles*, who had followed his
fortunes, and were best acquainted with, and most in-
terested in, the success of his affairs, entertain a doubt,
but that terms would be insisted on, and were to be
complied with. Among many proofs, I will only give
Mr. *Kingston's* relation of some conversations on this
subject. — ' I am to let you know, that Lord *Aubony*
' [*Aubigny*] was to visit Lord *Fermyn* on *Monday*, who
' entertained him in private for two hours. The sub-
' ject of their discourse was, the state of the times, and
' of the king's affairs in relation to them. That princi-
' pally insisted upon was, the disposition in *England* to
' call in the king; which, Lord *Fermyn* said, he was
' very certain would be done, if the ways to it were not
VOL. I. Z ' obstructed.

‘ of our late sovereign lord, King *Charles*
 ‘ the

‘ obstructed. Lord *Aubony* answered, that he was per-
 ‘ swaded nothing ought, and, he believed, nothing on
 ‘ the kings part would bring any impediment to it. I,
 ‘ but, said Lord *Fermyn*, the men that managed the mat-
 ‘ ters, and have the power, are the presbyterians. Lord
 ‘ *Aubony* replied, that he took every hand to be proper,
 ‘ which would do the work ; and, without examining
 ‘ of what sect or profession they were, he was of opi-
 ‘ nion, that, without a more sure way was visibly shewn,
 ‘ the king should not stick to take his crown at their
 ‘ hands that would give it him, upon such conditions
 ‘ as the givers should think fit to propose ; there being
 ‘ scarce any thing which might be esteemed unreason-
 ‘ able, in a matter to which there lay but one way open.
 ‘ You are in the right, said Lord *Fermyn*, and I am ex-
 ‘ ceedingly glad to find you of that opinion : but I am
 ‘ still afraid the king will suffer himself to be perswaded.
 ‘ But can you, replied Lord *Aubony* (though I know you
 ‘ fear the power Lord Chancellor hath with him), that
 ‘ hath seen the king here, and are but newly come from
 ‘ *Flanders*, and, doubtless, has observed his carriage, think
 ‘ that he is not master of his own affairs, and directs
 ‘ them himself? I ; but, replied Lord *Fermyn*, when
 ‘ Lord Chancellor hath him with him, among his pa-
 ‘ pers, and shews him this and that letter of intelli-
 ‘ gence, and comments upon them ; and that the king,
 ‘ who likes not to be over-prest with such knotty and
 ‘ intricate things, would divert himself ; he may lead
 ‘ him

the First, the imperial crown of the
‘ realm

‘ him to a resolution. For what I have known of the
‘ king, said Lord *Aubony*, I cannot judge that he is so
‘ easily wrought upon : and I do believe he will be of
‘ the mind to enter into his kingdoms upon any partys
‘ invitation, and almost any conditions. You have
‘ reason ; and that is it, said Lord *Fermyn*, which the
‘ cardinal would have him do : but advise you the
‘ Queen [*Henrietta Maria*] to be of that mind : she is
‘ yet very opposite to sense [sense, perhaps] ; but, I
‘ hope, she may be reclaimed : and lest she should think
‘ we concurred to make this our business, go you in
‘ first, and I will follow soon after. But let me tell you,
‘ that, for the kings abilities, I know them very well ;
‘ and they are very great : and he has given me as much
‘ satisfaction, in all things, as I could desire ; yet I can-
‘ not say, that I am contented. As soon as the queen
‘ saw Lord *Aubony*, O, said she, my lord, I hear, you
‘ say, the king is to go to *England*, and that you are
‘ glad there is such a * * * laid open for him. Do not
‘ you know that the presbyterians are those that are to
‘ invite him ? Lord *Aubony* answered, that he cared
‘ not who they be : that he looked only upon his being
‘ there. But the conditions, said the queen, may be
‘ such, as they would have pressed upon the king his fa-
‘ ther. Madam, replied Lord *Aubony*, a king crowned,
‘ and in his own dominions, had more to insist upon
‘ terms, than an exiled prince that hath not been ac-
‘ cepted by them. What would any one have him do

‘ realm of *England*, and of all the king-
‘ doms,

‘ other than receive his kingdoms by what means so-
‘ ever they were given him? and if some better way
‘ than this occurs not, what fault is to be found with
‘ that which cannot be mended? These and other
‘ such arguments brought the queen to think, there
‘ was reason in what Lord *Aubony* said; so as he left
‘ her in a good mood. Now the judgment which
‘ Lord *Aubony* makes on Lord *Fermyns* part in the story,
‘ is, that he would indeed have the king restored, and
‘ rather by the presbyterians than any other, not for
‘ any adherence of his to their principles of faith, but
‘ that, though himself should be denied admittance into
‘ *England*, which, he fears, the presbyterians them-
‘ selves will be of opinion is fit to be done; yet he
‘ would be sure, that, whatsoever should befall Lord
‘ *Fermyn*, Lord Chancellor would be excluded, whom
‘ he hath very little affection for. Lord *Aubony* thinks
‘ likewise, that he will not, perhaps, be much dis-
‘ pleased at the putting of hard conditions on the king,
‘ since he may hope, that, among the rest, they will
‘ not forget to indent, that the queen, his mother,
‘ should live abroad, provided always her majesty
‘ receive her dowry; which, it is probable, he will ma-
‘ nage as he hath done hitherto, and so care little for
‘ seeing *England*. Lord *Aubony* is so much taken with
‘ this overture for bringing in the king, that he congra-
‘ tulates his majesty by a particular letter, besides the
‘ directions I have to entreat you to let him know, how
‘ much

‘ doms, dominions, and rights, belong-
‘ ing

‘ much he is joyed at it. Thus far I give you a copy
‘ of a rough draught, read and approved by Lord *Au-*
‘ *bony* yesterday (p).’ — This letter is dated, *Paris*,
Ap. 8, 1660, N. S. — The same was, at first, the
opinion of *Moncke* himself also; as we may guess from
the following passage in *Clarendon*: — ‘ When Sir *John*
‘ *Greenville* had, at large, informed his majesty of the
‘ affairs of *England*, of the manner of the generals con-
‘ ference with him, and the good affections of Mr. *Mor-*
‘ *rice*; and had communicated the instructions and ad-
‘ vices he had received; as his majesty was very glad
‘ that the general had thus far discovered himself, and
‘ that he had opened a door for correspondence: so he
‘ was not without great perplexity upon many parti-
‘ culars which were recommended to be done; some
‘ of which he believed impossible and unpracticable, as
‘ the leaving every body in the state they were in, and
‘ confirming their possession in all the lands which
‘ they held in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, by pur-
‘ chase or donation, whether of lands belonging to the
‘ crown and church, or such who, for adhering to his fa-
‘ ther and himself, were declared delinquents, and had
‘ their lands confiscated and disposed of as their enemies
‘ had thought fit. Then the complying with all hu-
‘ mours in religion, and the granting a general liberty
‘ of conscience, was a violation of all the laws in force,
‘ and could not be apprehended to consist with the
‘ peace of the kingdom. No man was more disposed to
‘ a general act of indemnity and oblivion, than his ma-

(p) *Thur-*
loe, vol. vii.
p. 891.

ing to the same, did, by inherent
birth-

‘ jesty was ; which he knew, in so long and universal
‘ a guilt, was absolutely necessary. But he thought it
‘ neither consistent with his honour, nor his consci-
‘ ence, that those who had sate as judges, and con-
‘ demned his father to be murdered, should be com-
‘ prehended in that act of pardon : yet it was advised,
‘ that there might be no exception, or that above four
‘ might not be excepted ; because, it was alledged, that
‘ some of them had facilitated the generals march, by
‘ falling from *Lambert* ; and others had barefaced ad-
‘ vanced the kings service very much. After great de-
‘ liberation on all the particulars, and weighing the im-
‘ portance of complying with the generals advice in all
‘ things which his conscience and honour would per-
‘ mit, his majesty directed such letters and declarations
‘ to be prepared, as should be, in a good degree, suit-
‘ able to the wishes and counsel of the general ; and
‘ yet make the transaction of those things which he did
‘ not like, the effect of the power of the parliament,
‘ rather than of his majesty’s approbation. And the
‘ confidence he had upon the general election of honest
‘ and prudent men, and in some particular persons,
‘ who, he heard, were already chosen, disposed him to
‘ make a general reference of all things, which he could
‘ not reserve to himself, to the wisdom of the parlia-
‘ ment, upon presumption they would not exact more
‘ from him than he was willing to consent to ; since he
‘ well knew, that, whatever title they assumed, or he gave
‘ them, they must have another kind of parliament to con-
‘ firm

‘ birthright, and lawful and undoubted
‘ succes-

‘ firm all that was done by them : without which they could
‘ not be safe and contented, nor his majesty obliged (q).’
— If it be asked, who hindred conditions being made,
and terms insisted on, previous to *Charles’s* restoration ?
— the answer is, — it was *Moncke*. — This will ap-
pear from unexceptionable authorities. ‘ On the ninth
‘ of *April*, 1660, the general dispatched away Mr. *Ber-*
‘ *nard Greenville* to his majesty, with his humble letters,
‘ acknowledging his duty and allegiance ; and return-
‘ ing his most humble thanks to his majesty, for enter-
‘ taining so good an opinion of him, and reposing so
‘ great and absolute a trust in him ; and assurance that
‘ he would certainly restore his majesty ; and that, with
‘ the hazard of his life, he would do it without any pre-
‘ vious conditions ; he being such an adorer of majesty,
‘ that he would not endure to see it shackled with any
‘ limitations or exceptions whatsoever ; so that he should
‘ return a free and absolute monarch to his antient king-
‘ doms (r).’ — ‘ Such unanimity,’ says *Burnet*, ‘ ap-
‘ peared in their proceedings [the convention parlia-
‘ ments], that there was not the least dispute among
‘ them, but upon one single point : yet that was a very
‘ important one. *Hale*, afterwards the famous Chief
‘ Justice, moved, that a committee might be appointed
‘ to look into the propositions that had been made, and
‘ the concessions that had been offered, by the late king,
‘ during the war, particularly at the treaty of *Newport* ;
‘ that, from thence, they might digest such propositions
‘ as they should think fit to be sent over to the king.

(q) Vol.
vi. p. 737.
See also,
Gumble’s
Life of
Moncke, p.
276. 8vo.

(r) *Gum-*
ble, p. 279.

‘ fion, descend and come to his most ex-
 ‘ cellent

‘ This was seconded; but I do not remember by whom.
 ‘ It was foreseen, that such a motion might be set on
 ‘ foot: so *Moncke* was instructed how to answer it,
 ‘ whensoever it should be proposed. He told the house,
 ‘ that there was yet, above all mens hope, an universal
 ‘ quiet all over the nation; but there were some incen-
 ‘ diaries still on the watch, trying where they could
 ‘ first raise the flame. He said, He had such copious
 ‘ informations sent him, of these things, that it was
 ‘ not fit they should be generally known. He could
 ‘ not answer for the peace, either of the nation or of the
 ‘ army, if any delay was put to the sending for the king.
 ‘ What need was there of sending propositions to him?
 ‘ Might they not as well prepare them, and offer them
 ‘ to him when he should come over? He was to bring
 ‘ neither army nor treasure with him, either to fright
 ‘ them or to corrupt them. So he moved, that they
 ‘ would immediately send commissioners to bring over
 ‘ the king: and said, that he must lay the blame of all
 ‘ the blood or mischief, that might follow, on the heads
 ‘ of those who should still insist on any motion that
 ‘ might delay the present settlement of the nation.
 ‘ This was eccho’d with such a shout over the house,
 ‘ that the motion was no more insisted on. This was
 ‘ indeed the great service that *Moncke* did. It was chiefly
 ‘ owing to the post he was in, and and the credit he
 ‘ had gained. For as to the restoration itself, the tide
 ‘ run so strong, that he only went into it dexterously
 ‘ enough to get much fame, and great rewards, for that
 ‘ which will still have a great appearance in history (s).’

(s) Burnet,
 vol. i. p. 88.

‘cellent majesty, *Charles* the Second, as
‘being

Lord *Landsdowne* affirms, ‘his father, Mr. *Bernard*
‘*Granville*, was the person intrusted by the general with
‘his last dispatches to the king, to invite him home, and
‘to acquaint him that every thing was ready for his re-
‘ception. When he gave him these final instructions,
‘he acquainted him, that there were other messengers
‘going over at the same time, in the same ship, from
‘Sir *Anthony Ashley Cowper*, and others, directed to the
‘Chancellor: that he should take care not to be sus-
‘pected of being any thing more than a common pas-
‘senger, nor charged with any business: and, above
‘all, to use such diligence as to get first to the king,
‘that his majesty might not be surprized, or perplexed,
‘by any uneasy importunities, or disagreeable demands;
‘but be prepared in what manner to receive, and con-
‘tent them with general answers. My father, accord-
‘ingly, arrived the first by two or three hours. The
‘king was at supper. Upon sending in his name, his
‘majesty immediately arose from table, and came to him
‘in another room. The king had no sooner read the
‘generals letter, but he embraced the bearer, and told
‘him, never was man more welcome to him: he could
‘now say he was a king, and not a doge. It is certain,
‘the generals extreme but necessary caution, and taci-
‘turnity, gave latitude to others to assume more merit
‘than belonged to them. The king himself, who best
‘knew, has decided this question, by declaring, in all
‘his grants and patents of honour to the Duke of *Al-*
‘*bermale*, and the Earl of *Bathe*, that he owed his
‘restoration,

‘ being lineally, justly, and lawfully, next
 ‘ heir

‘ (s) Landf-
 downe’s
 Works, vol.
 ii. p. 161.

‘ restoration, as it was free and independent, to their
 ‘ sole management (t).’ — Thus was an exiled prince,
 by the dissimulation, treachery, and falshood of *Moncke*,
 admitted to the government of three flourishing and re-
 nowned kingdoms, without conditions, contrary to the
 sense and expectations of the most intelligent persons of
 all parties! For who could have imagined, that a
 people, who had so long and successfully struggled for
 their liberties, would, in one hour, without striking a
 blow, submit to the vanquished, and tamely yield to the
 yoke of those whom they knew to be their determined
 foes? Who could have thought, that an *English* parli-
 ament, a name which had lately, very lately, obtained
 so much renown, should, by one single vote, deliver up
 themselves, and all that was dear to them, into the hands
 of one from whom they had reason to expect not over-
 kind treatment? But patriotism no longer actuated the
 breasts of the *English* senators: every thing was unminded,
 but personal safety, personal honors, or rewards; which
 were judged best obtained, by thus making early court
 to the king, in a matter most acceptable to him. —
 Mr. *Hume* says, ‘ After the concessions made by the late
 ‘ king, the constitution seemed to be sufficiently secured;
 ‘ and the additional conditions insisted on, as they had
 ‘ been framed during the greatest ardor of the contest,
 ‘ amounted rather to an annihilation than a limitation
 ‘ of monarchy (u).’ — What is meant by this, is hard
 to say. Would the insisting on the power of the mili-
 tia; the abolishing the court of wards; the confirma-
 tion

(u) Hist.
 of Great
 Britain, vol.
 ii. p. 113.
 Lond. 1757.

‘ heir of the blood royal of this realm ;
‘ and that, by the goodnefs and providence
‘ of Almighty God, he is, of *England*,
‘ *Scotland*,

tion of public sales ; the asserting the neceffity and justice of the late war ; and the restraining the prerogative, that very prerogative which had brought so many mischiefs on the nation, within the bounds of law, and settling the rights of the people on an immoveable foundation ; would, I say, the doing of these things have been an annihilation of monarchy ? Many of them ought to have been done : and had they been done, the Revolution, perhaps, had never taken place. For *Charles*, and his brother, would thereby have been taught their duty ; and restrained from those excesses, which shewed men the necessity of a more limited government than had before been established.

‘ To the kings coming in without conditions,’ says *Burnet*, ‘ may be well imputed all the errors of his reign. And when the Earl of *Southampton* came to see what he was like to prove, he said once, in great wrath, to Chancellor *Hide*, it was to him they owed all they either felt or feared : for if he had not possessed him, in all his letters, with such an opinion of the king, they would have taken care to have put it out of his power, either to do himself or them any mischief ; which was like to be the effect of their trusting him so entirely. *Hide* answered, that he thought the king had so true a judgment, and so much good-nature, that, when the age of pleasure should be over, and the idleness of his exile, which made him seek new diver-

‘ sions

(x) Journal.

‘*Scotland, France, and Ireland*, most potent,
‘mighty, and undoubted king (x).’ Such
a sudden change was there in the language
of

(y) Vol.
i. p. 89.

‘sions for want of other employment, was turned to an
‘obligation to mind affairs, then he would have shaken
‘off those entanglements (y).’ A very poor excuse for so
much mischief! ‘Conditions and limitations would have
‘made both prince and people safe and easy: the want of
‘them made the greater part of the reign of King *Charles*
‘the Second bear that gloomy prospect, which the noble
‘writer [*Landdowne*] has so elegantly set forth. An
‘unlimited power of doing good, and an incapacity of
‘doing wrong, would bring sovereigns nearer the image
‘of that Being, from whom all power is derived, and
‘whose vicegerents they are frequently stiled. Restraints
‘from evil will never be felt as chains by good princes;
‘and, surely, bad ones cannot have too many (z).’ —
The following paper shall put an end to this long note.
It was sent to *Thurloe*, from *Leghorn*, by Mr. *Longland*,
the *English* agent, *Ap.* 23, 1660, N. S. — ‘I must
‘not omit to let you know, what discourse happened,
‘yesterday, with a couple of *Italians*, concerning the
‘affairs of *England*, who were very knowing men, as
‘that nation generally is. The opinion of the one was,
‘that the approaching parliament would assuredly call in
‘the king, seeing the secluded members had prepared a
‘way for it, by turning out the commonwealthsmen
‘from commanding the militia, and being sheriffs of the
‘counties, and putting into their places the kings
‘friends and cavaliers; instancing the city of *London*,
‘who,

(z) Re-
marks on
Landf-
downe's
Letter, p.
32. 4to.
Lond. 1732.

of the people of *England*! It probably, however, was the language of the heart: for the joy, expressed on this occasion, was
incon-

‘ who, of itself, had an army able to bring in the king;
 ‘ and Sir *George Boothe*, who hath now the parliaments
 ‘ authority for that, for which he was so lately appre-
 ‘ hended. The other answered, Although this be true,
 ‘ yet it cannot be imagined, that so grave and wise a
 ‘ body, as the parliament, will soon so forget the late great
 ‘ expence of blood and treasure, as again to set up the
 ‘ said government that caused it; which would be an
 ‘ action of such levity, not to say folly, that so wise a
 ‘ body could not possibly be guilty of. When the *Athe-*
 ‘ *nians*, *Tuscans*, and *Romans*, cast off kingly government,
 ‘ they never willingly re-assumed it; and yet it never
 ‘ cost all those nations together half the blood it has in
 ‘ *England*. He further said to the other *Italian*, you and
 ‘ I have wives and children. How soon it may please
 ‘ God to send sickness and death, we know not.
 ‘ Would it be discretion in us, to leave our children
 ‘ and estates in the tuition of one of the princes (the
 ‘ great Dukes brothers); or in the hands of a merchant
 ‘ of our own rank and quality, who may be accountable
 ‘ for his administration? *Ovum non ovo similis*: and
 ‘ that great and wise body, the parliament of *England*,
 ‘ not only deliver up their own, but the estates, wives,
 ‘ children, religion, and liberties too, of three great
 ‘ nations, into the hands and custody of one man in-
 ‘ controulable; and not rather put these precious jewels
 ‘ into the hands and keeping of twenty or thirty of their
 ‘ own

inconceivable. Every thing was done which was thought acceptable to the king (PP), who

(a) Thurloe, vol. vii. p. 897.

‘ own members, of whom they may freely demand an account at all times. This certainly is consistent with right reason, and the true interest of that nation. To say, that they will bind the king to such conditions as no opportunity shall be left him; all such must needs vanish with time, and peoples liberties must again become inthrall’d, whereof the world is full of witnesses and examples (a).’ ---- This, it is true, might have been the case: if it had, the parliament would still have had the satisfaction of reflecting on their own honest intentions; and posterity would have applauded them.

(PP) *The joy was inconceivable. Every thing was done which was thought acceptable to the king, who was viewed as the saviour and deliverer of his people.*] In pursuance of the act of the commonwealth-parliament, writs were issued out, and a parliament returned; who met at *Westminster*, Ap. 25, 1660, O. S. And the lords, who had been so long ousted from their power, re-entered their house, and were acknowledged by the commons as part of the legislature. To these houses, to the general, to the city of *London*, did the king apply, in a very insinuating manner, by letters; and sent also a declaration, in which, after claiming his right, he promised all those things which have been before mentioned (b). Clauses, however, were inserted, which left him much at liberty, in the future, to confirm, retract, alter, or amend, as he should see fit (c). Nothing of this, however, was animadverted upon at that time. All was joy, and gladness;

(b) See] note (LL).

(c) See the last quotation from Clarendon, in the preceding note.

who was viewed as the saviour and deliverer

ness ; as if the golden age was about to return, and the nations advanced to a glory and happiness unknown in past times. Sir *Harbottle Grimstone*, speaker, by command, gave thanks to *Moncke*, who, in the last parliament, had been voted twenty thousand pounds. *Ingoldby*, who had defeated *Lambert*, was applauded in like manner : and Sir *John Greenville*, who brought the letters from the king, had five hundred pounds bestowed on him. Nothing can better convey the idea of the then sense of the people, than *Grimston's* speech to *Greenville* on this occasion. — ‘I need not tell you,’ said he, ‘with what grateful and thankful hearts the commons, now assembled in parliament, have received his majesty’s gracious letter : *res ipsa loquitur*. You, yourself, have been *ocularis & auricularis testis de rei veritate*. Our bells, and our bonfires, have already begun the proclamation of his majesty’s goodness, and of our joys. We have told the people, that our king, the glory of *England*, is coming home again ; and they have resounded it back again, in our ears, that they are ready, and their hearts are open, to receive him. Both parliament, and people, have cried aloud to the King of kings, in their prayers, “Long live King *Charles* the Second !” Sir, I am likewise to tell you, that the house doth not think it fit, that you should return back to our royal sovereign without some testimony of their respects to yourself. They have ordered, and appointed, that five hundred pounds shall be delivered to you, to buy a jewel, as a badge of that honor which is due to a person whom the king hath honoured to be the messenger

liverer of his people. — The character of the

(d) Journal, May 3, 1660.

‘ senger of so gracious a message. And I am commanded, in the name of the house, to return you their very hearty thanks (d).’ Considerable sums of money were now also voted for the use of the King, Duke of York, and Duke of Gloucester; and remitted to them in Holland. Furniture, equipages, and every thing necessary, were provided. Prayers in churches ordered for himself, and the royal progeny. The arms of the commonwealth were taken down, and his majesty’s set up: and he himself most humbly entreated to make a speedy return to his parliament, and to the exercise of his kingly office (e). So that the satyrist adhered pretty much to truth, in the lines following :

(e) Journal, May 10, 1660.

‘ Of a tall stature, and of fable hue,
‘ Much like the son of Kish, that lofty Jew;
‘ Twelve years compleat he suffer’d in exile,
‘ And kept his fathers asses all the while.
‘ At length, by wonderful impulse of fate,
‘ The people call’d him home to help the state.
‘ And, what is more, they send him money too;
‘ And cloath him all, from head to foot, anew.
‘ Nor did he such small favours then disdain,
‘ Who in his thirtieth year began his reign.’

MARVEL.

When the king first went to the lords, on the twentieth of May, he was complimented by Lord Manchester, their speaker, in terms the most extravagant. —
‘ That this day,’ says he, ‘ may prove happy to your
‘ majesty,

estimation; and his memory adored: so
that

‘peace. Dread sovereign! I offer no flattering titles;
‘but speak the words of truth. You are the desire of
‘three kingdoms: the strength and stay of the tribes of
‘the people; for the moderating of extremities, the re-
‘conciling of differences, the satisfying of all interests,
‘and for the restoring of the collapsed honour of these
‘nations. Their eyes are towards your majesty: their
‘tongues, with loud acclamations of joy, speak the
‘thoughts and loyal intentions of their hearts: their
‘hands are lift up to heaven, with prayers and praises.
‘And what oval triumph can equal this your pomp and
‘glory? Long may your majesty live and reign: a sup-
‘port to your friends; a terroure to your enemies; an
‘honour to your nation; and an example to kings, of
‘piety, justice, prudence, and power: that this pro-
‘phetick expression may be verified in your majesty,
‘King *Charles* the Second shall be greater than ever
‘was the greatest of that name (f).’ The like compli-
ments and congratulations did his majesty receive from
the house of commons; the lord mayor and aldermen,
and ministers, of the city of *London*; from the army;
the navy; in a word, almost from the whole people of
England. So that he had great reason to say, ‘he
‘doubted it had been his own fault he had been absent
‘so long; for he saw nobody that did not protest, he
‘had ever wished for his return (g).’ — To perpetu-
ate the memory of this event, the twenty-ninth day of
May was, soon after, by act of parliament, appointed
yearly to be kept as a day of thanksgiving to Almighty
God.

(f) Ken-
net's Re-
gifter, p.
164.

(g) Cla-
rendon, vol.
vi. p. 772.

And,

that all those concerned in his imprisonment,

And, truly, great reason was there for it, if it produced the effects the admirers of this monarch have described. — Lord *Landsdowne* speaks of it in the following terms: ‘I behold a king, with a guilty nation
 ‘prostrate at his feet, raising his enemies from the
 ‘ground, taking them by the hand as if they had never
 ‘offended: four, hypocritical zeal and grimace, turn’d,
 ‘as by enchantment, all at once, into good-humour
 ‘and open-hearted cheerfulness: majesty and splendor
 ‘in the court, decency and discipline in the church,
 ‘dignity and condescension in the nobility, plenty and
 ‘hospitality in the country, opulence in the city, good-
 ‘nature and good manners amongst all ranks and condi-
 ‘tions of men. Trade flourishing, navigation extended,
 ‘manufactures improved, arts and sciences encouraged,
 ‘witabounding, the Muses restored, the gown respected;
 ‘and, above all, liberty secured to perpetuity, by that
 ‘great bulwark, the *Habeas Corpus* act. This is the
 ‘scene which presents itself to me; and I look back
 ‘with pleasure upon it (b).’ — Bishop *Sherlock* also
 assures us, ‘that, after more than twelve years of conti-
 ‘nual night, the day began to break, and the sound of
 ‘liberty was heard throughout the nation: in a word,
 ‘the king, who was expelled; the nobles, and the
 ‘gentry, who were driven into banishment, or lived at
 ‘home sequestred or imprisoned; were restored to their
 ‘antient rights; and *England* became *England* again.
 ‘Now, what was the consequence? Why, the cru-
 ‘elties, the oppressions, and devastations of many years,
 ‘were all buried in silence and oblivion. Private re-

(b) Works,
 vol. ii. p.
 269.

sonment, trial, or execution, were held
in

(i) Vindi-
cation of the
Corporation
and Test
Acts, p. 34.
8vo. Lond.
1718.

'sentments, and private injuries, were given up to the
'publick good: the rich sequestrator, and the harras'd
'gentleman, lived like neighbours and friends: and the
'prophecy seemed fulfilled, that, The lion and the
'lambs should play together (i).' — These are beauti-
ful pictures: but, as the one was drawn by a poet; the
other by a divine, not very remarkable for his regard to
truth; exactness, or even likeness, may, possibly, be
wanting. The sequel, however, will discover.

The poets now had a fresh opportunity of displaying
their talents, and paying their court to the dispenser of
good things. Mr. *Waller*, the kinsman and panegyrist
of *Cromwell*; and *Dryden*, his fellow-labourer; sung
new songs, and flattered the monarch more than the
protector. The university of *Oxford* expressed their joy
also in a book of verses, entitled, *BRITANNIA REDI-*
VIVA (k). The introduction, by *Conant*, vice-chan-
cellor, is remarkably grave; and shews the hopes that
were entertained of a pious, happy reign.

(k) *Oxo-*
niz, 1660.
4to.

'Quæ tua sunt cœlum tibi reddidit, ipse vicissim
'Jam cœlo reddas (Carole magne) sua:
'Sceptra Deo tradas, illum regnare jubeto
'(Inclyte rex) quo tu sceptra jubente tenes.
'O ter felices, te sic regnante, Britannos,
'Christus ut emineat, teque regente regat.
'Ipse sibi tristes gratabitur Anglia clades,
'Pensari tanto quæ potuere bono.'

Mr.

in high abhorrence; and many were condemned, and executed, for being accessory to his death (QQ). These were
now

Mr. *Locke*, Mr. afterwards *Dr. Dan. Whitby*, *Hooper*, *South*, *Rochester*, and many others whose names have hardly reached down to the present age, contributed to this collection. I will insert a few of *South's* lines, for the gratification of the curious.

- ‘ Jure & amore tui modo spes, nunc gloria regni,
 ‘ Qui regnando refers numen, & esse probas.
 ‘ Laudibus & titulis major, majorque superbis
 ‘ Principibus, solo denique patre minor.
 ‘ Maxime rex, sed adhuc vir major: en accipe honores,
 ‘ Quos tu regales accipiendo facis.
 ‘ Regna patent, & corda patent; sed latius ista;
 ‘ Omnia tu, præter gaudia nostra, regis.
 * * * * *
 ‘ Quæ rerum facies! Viduam dum Carolus urbem
 ‘ Intrat, splendoris pars quota pompa fuit!
 ‘ O quàm plena dies lacrymis sine luctibus! Illum
 ‘ Sole vidente quidem, non faciente Diem.
 ‘ Quis sine cæde prius tot strictos viderat enses?
 ‘ Quisve sine effuso sanguine victor erat?’ &c. &c.

(QQ) *Many were condemned, and executed, for being accessory to the death of Charles I.]* It was natural enough to expect a severe revenge would be taken, by *Charles the Second*, on those who brought his father to the block, if ever it lay in his power. As a son, he

now stiled regicides and traitors; though the friends of liberty spoke of them in
more

must be supposed deeply to resent it: — as a prince, to loath and detest it. It was, however, his business to keep his sentiments on this head, as much as might be, to himself; lest the people, in general, should be alarmed at the thoughts of restoring a prince, prone to take vengeance on the foes of his family. All, therefore, he thought proper to say, in his letter to the commons, from *Breda*, on this subject, was, ‘if there be
‘a crying sin, for which the nation may be involved in
‘the infamy that attends it, we cannot doubt, but
‘that you will be as solicitous to redeem and vindicate
‘the nation from that guilt and infamy, as we can be.’ The house of commons took the hint: and, in order to gratify his majesty, and avenge themselves for being divested of their power in 1648, and obliged to submit to men whom they heartily hated on that account: the house of commons, I say, made up of the secluded members, who were agents and directors of the civil war, and men, for the most part, of like principles, took now an opportunity of avenging themselves, under the specious pretence of bringing regicides and paricides to justice, and vindicating the honour of the nation. And the house of lords, which for twelve years had been wholly suppressed, as they thought themselves more wronged by the commonwealth party, readily fell in with the commons, and even surpassed them in their desires of vengeance. In this disposition, votes and re-
solutions

more moderate terms. Money was also readily provided, by the house of commons, for

solutions passed: by which, persons concerned in the transactions of the High Court of Justice, and the execution of the late king, were exempted from the pardon to be granted by a bill then framing in the house of commons; and left to the laws, as interpreted by his majesty's judges. — The fate of these men, it was no way difficult to foresee. A commission was issued out, directed to restored cavaliers, to secluded members, to the officers of the crown, and the judges of *Westminster-hall*: sworn enemies all to the men who were to be tried by them; and who, without the help of the laws, by which, without doubt, they must be found guilty, if rigorously and literally interpreted, would have taken care that they should not pass unpunished. — It was in vain that the prisoners alledged, on their trials, that they had acted under the supreme power of the nation then in being, to which all orders and degrees of men had yielded obedience; that they themselves had honest intentions, and thought the sentence passed on his late majesty just and equitable; or, that those who now were their judges had, in some measure, been misled or mistaken as well as themselves (1): nothing of this was attended to. The court declared, that the parliament, by whose authority they had acted, had no right to the name: that the power they had assumed, was usurped: that, supposing it had not, they had no right to try and execute the king; and, consequently, all concerned in it were traitors, guilty of compassing and imagin-

(1) See the trials of Harrison, Scot, and Scrope.

for the paying and disbanding the army,
and

ing the king's death, and liable to the consequences of high treason.

Such was the opinion of the judges: and, in consequence hereof, thirteen persons, at different times, were executed; who behaved, for the most part, with that intrepidity which enthusiasm, or conscious innocence, inspires. — Not content with this, many very eminent men were shut up in prisons; deprived of their fortunes, or incapacitated for public employs: and even persons who were dead were attainted, and their bodies treated with infamy: and such as neither the king, nor his great council now assembled, had been able to contend with, in the cabinet or in the field, were exposed in a manner shocking to humanity. The sufferings of these men, and the great change of affairs at this time, is very ingeniously conjectured to be alluded to, by *Milton*, in the following lines:

‘ God of our fathers, what is man !
 ‘ That thou towards him, with hand so various,
 ‘ Or might I say contrarious,
 ‘ Temper’st thy providence through his short course,
 ‘ Not ev’nly, as thou rul’st
 ‘ Th’ angelic orders and inferiour creatures mute,
 ‘ Irrational and brute.
 ‘ Nor do I name of men the common rout,
 ‘ That, wand’ring loose about,
 ‘ Grow up and perish, as the summer flie,
 ‘ Heads without name no more remember’d,

‘ But

and laying up the navy: and his majesty
was

‘ But such as thou hast solemnly elected,
 ‘ With gifts and graces eminently adorn’d
 ‘ To some great work, thy glory,
 ‘ And people’s safety, which in part they effect:
 ‘ Yet towards these, thus dignify’d, thou oft,
 ‘ Amidst their highth of noon,
 ‘ Change’st thy count’nance and thy hand, with no
 ‘ regard
 ‘ Of highest favours past
 ‘ From thee on them, or them to thee of service;
 ‘ Not only dost degrade them, or remit
 ‘ To life obscur’d, which were a fair dismissal,
 ‘ But throw’st them lower than thou didst exalt
 ‘ them high,
 ‘ Unseemly falls in human eye,
 ‘ Too grievous for the trespass or omission;
 ‘ Oft leav’st them to the hostile sword
 ‘ Of heathen and prophane, their carcases
 ‘ To dogs and fowls a prey, or else captiv’d;
 ‘ Or to th’ unjust tribunals, under change of times,
 ‘ And condemnation of th’ ingrateful multitude (m).’

SAMSON AGONISTES.

(m) See the
 notes of Dr.
 Warburton,
 and Newton,
 on the place.

To return. — In the king, this might have been
 excuseable. But that a house of commons, the lead-
 ing men of which had generously withstood *Charles I.*
 in arms, in defence of their liberties; --- for these men
 to treat thus their coadjutors in their noble work, be-
 cause they were desirous of perfecting, and actually com-
 pleted

was complimented with a revenue greater
than

pleated it, was highly unjustifiable. If indeed no power, no person, no community or body of men, not the people, either collectively or representatively, have any coercive power over the person of the king, by the fundamental laws, as was asserted by Sir *Orlando Bridgman* on this occasion (*n*); then the king's judges had no reason to complain. But if this doctrine was true, then were the leaders in the house of commons, who had waged war with the late king, and held him too in safe custody till he would comply with their terms, traitors also; and liable to a like judgment. But as they denied this, and took care to vindicate their own arming against the king (*o*), and permitted not their hostile proceedings, in any act of parliament, to be called rebellion; it plainly appears, that they themselves must have held a very different doctrine, and ought not to have set an example so fatal to posterity. 'If a king 'deserves,' says an excellent writer, 'to be opposed by 'force of arms, he deserves death: if he reduces his 'subjects to that extremity, the blood spilt in the quar- 'rel lies on him: ---- the executing him afterwards, is 'a meer formality (*p*).' This is unanswerable. And whether *Charles I.* by exercising tyranny, was not the occasion of his own and his peoples calamities, is freely left to the judgment of the intelligent reader. ---- Besides, with submission, that could never be deemed an act of murder, which was intended as an act of safety and glory to the community. The king was in captivity, in consequence of an unsuccessful war with his people. ----- And why --- in the name of common sense

(*n*) Exact and impartial Account of the Tryal of the Regicides, p. 280. 4to. Lond. 1660.

(*o*) See a quotation from the Journal, in the Historical and Critical Account of Charles I. p. 364. 8vo. Lond. 1758.

(*p*) Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, vol. ii. p. 69.

sense --- must he be exempted from a fate he would certainly have inflicted on his opponents, had he been in their case and they in his? ----- These men, indeed, had no power, according to the antient settled laws of the kingdom, to deal thus with the king. ---- But what had laws to do in war? The moment hostilities commenced, law, as far as related to the several branches of the legislature, ceased: ---- the sword was to decide the quarrel; and whatever the victor had a right to demand of the vanquished, the vanquished ought to submit to. At the lowest, this is self-preservation: which is justly procured, though it be by the death of the adversary. Had these men offended against the statute of Treasons in times of settled government, it would have been right to have indicted them thereon; and they might have been justly told, that no man can justify treason. But the law, properly, was out of the case: though the lawyers, as usual, made much use of it, and very virulently exclaimed against parricides, regicides, and traitors. In short, as there had been great excesses among all parties, and each thought they had reason to complain of another; and as the nation seemed, at this time, to be filled with a common joy; a total act of indemnity ought to have been enacted, for all former proceedings. Of this sentiment, it seems, were divers members of both houses. ‘The Earl of *Northumberland* was heard to say, That though he had no part in the death of the king, he was against questioning those who had been concerned in that affair; that the example might be more useful to posterity, and profitable to future kings, by deterring them from future exorbitances. And the Lord *Fairfax*, on that subject,

(q) Lud-
low, vol. iii.
p. 10.

‘ subject, plainly said, that if any person must be ex-
‘ cepted, he knew no man that deserved it more than
‘ himself; who, being general of the army at that
‘ time, and having power sufficient to prevent the pro-
‘ ceedings against the king, had not thought fit to make
‘ use of it to that end (q).’ ---- But some sacrifices were
to be made, to gratify revenge, and make court to the
new monarch.

I will conclude this note with the words of Lord
Molesworth. ‘ It is certainly,’ says he, ‘ as much trea-
‘ son and rebellion against this constitution, and the
‘ known laws, in a prince to endeavour to break through
‘ them, as it is in people to rise against him, whilst he
‘ keeps within their bounds, and does his duty. Our
‘ constitution is a government of laws, not of persons.
‘ Allegiance and protection are obligations that cannot
‘ subsist separately; when one fails, the other falls of
‘ course. The true etymology of the word, Loyalty
‘ (which has been so strangely wrested in the late reigns),
‘ is an entire obedience to the prince, in all his com-
‘ mands according to law; that is, to the laws them-
‘ selves, to which we owe both an active and passive
‘ obedience. By the old and true maxim, That the
‘ king can do no wrong, nobody is so foolish as to con-
‘ clude, that he has not strength to murder, to offer vi-
‘ olence to women, or power enough to dispossess a man
‘ wrongfully of his estate; or, that whatever he does
‘ (how wicked soever) is just: but the meaning is, he
‘ has no lawful power to do such things; and our con-
‘ stitution considers no power as irresistible, but what
‘ is lawful (r).’

(r) Preface
to Hotto-
man’s Fran-
co-Gallia, p.
10. 8vo.
Lond. 1721.

Since the writing of the above, I find, by the Journals,
that the house of commons not only justified those who first
took

than any of his predecessors (RR). The
crown

took up arms against *Charles I.* but also paid the arrears due to commanders of forces against that monarch. --- *July 17, 1660*, it was ordered, 'that the sum of two thousand one hundred fifty-five pounds fifteen shillings ten pence, the residue and remainder of three thousand one hundred fifty-five pounds fifteen shillings ten pence, charged by ordinance of the lords and commons in parliament, on receipt of *Goldsmiths-hall*, and payable, in the year 1646, to the Lord *Willoughby of Parham*, as due to him on his account, be, and hereby is, charged on the Receipt of Excise, and to be paid by the commissioners of excise, in course, to the said Lord *Willoughby of Parham*.' ---- *Massej*, who had defended *Gloucester* against the king; and *Titus*, another parliamentarian; had 3000*l.* each ordered them also on the excise (s). Surely the gentlemen who ordered these sums, had no notion of the illegality of the resistance made to the late king.

(s) See Journals, 17 July, 1660, and 28 Dec. following.

(RR) *His majesty was complimented with a revenue greater than his predecessors.*] In the Journal of Sept. 4th, 1660, it is said, 'that Sir *Heneage Finch* reports from the committee, to whom it was referred to consider of a revenue to be settled on the kings majesty, and the state of the late kings revenue; an estimate of the present revenue of his majesty, and several resolves of the said committee: that is to say, That, according to the best information the committee could receive from the officers heretofore employed about the revenue, the total of the revenue, which came unto his late majesty, amounted, from the year 1637 to the year
' 1641

crown lands also, though sold under
the

‘ 1641 inclusive, *communibus annis*; unto eight hundred
‘ ninety-five thousand eight hundred and nineteen
‘ pounds five shillings; whereof two hundred and ten
‘ thousand four hundred ninety-three pounds seventeen
‘ shillings and four pence did arise by payments *partly*
‘ *not warranted by law*, partly expired: and that the ex-
‘ pences of his said late majesty’s government did amount,
‘ *communibus annis*, to about two hundred thousand
‘ pounds a year above the receipt; in which computa-
‘ tion the incomes, arising by ship-money, are not com-
‘ prehended: and that, by estimate, the present reve-
‘ nue of his now majesty may be computed at eight hun-
‘ dred and nineteen thousand three hundred ninety-eight
‘ pounds, or thereabouts. That is to say: By

‘ The Customs, ——— —	£ 400,000
‘ The composition for the Court of	
‘ Wards, ——— —	100,000
‘ The Revenue of Farms and Rents, —	263,598
‘ The Office of Postage, ——— —	21,500
‘ The Proceeds of Deane forest, ———	4,000
‘ The Imposition on Sea Coals exported, —	8,000
‘ Wine Licences, and other additions, —	22,300
	£ 819,398

‘ Of which sum forty-five thousand six hundred
‘ ninety-eight pounds eighteen shillings and seven pence,
‘ part

the commonwealth for valuable considerations,

‘ part of the said two hundred sixty-three thousand five
‘ hundred ninety-eight pounds, for farms and rents, is
‘ casual, and, for the most part, lost; *viz.* for the
‘ mint, alum, transportation of gold, new-years gifts,
‘ and installed debts. He also reports some Resolves of
‘ the said committee; *viz.* That a bill be tendered
‘ to the house, for establishing, and regulation, of the
‘ office of postmaster: That the like bill be tendered to
‘ the house, for wine licences: That a bill be prepared,
‘ for settling the lands of the crown, so that no grant of
‘ the inheritance shall be good in law; nor any lease,
‘ more than for three lives, or thirty-one years, where
‘ a third part of the true yearly value is reserved for a rent;
‘ as it shall appear upon the return of a survey; which
‘ that act is to take order for, that it may be speedily had
‘ and taken: That the house be desired to move the
‘ kings majesty, that there be a forbearance to make
‘ leases of lands, or other grants of the revenue, till
‘ the said act be passed: And that the said committee
‘ think fit, that the revenue, for the constant yearly
‘ support of his majesty, be a revenue of twelve hundred thousand pounds a year.

‘ The question being propounded, That the present
‘ majesty’s shall be made up twelve hundred thousand
‘ pounds a year; and the question being put, That this
‘ question be now put; it passed in the affirmative: And
‘ the main question being put; it was Resolved, That
‘ the present kings majesty’s revenue shall be made up
‘ twelve hundred thousand pounds a year. Resolved,

I

‘ That

derations, were now, with the lands
of the church, taken from the purchasers,
without

‘ That this house doth agree with the committee, that
‘ a bill be brought in, for establishing, and regulation,
‘ of the office of wine licences : and that another bill
‘ be brought in, for settling the lands of the crown,
‘ so as that no grant of the inheritance shall be
‘ good in law ; nor any lease, for more than three
‘ lives, or one and thirty years, where a third part of
‘ the true yearly value is reserved for a rent ; as it
‘ shall appear upon a survey, which that act is to take
‘ order for, to be speedily had and taken : and that Mr.
‘ Solicitor General, and Mr. Serjeant *Glyn*, do prepare
‘ and bring in bills accordingly. Resolved, That this
‘ house do agree with the committee, that the kings
‘ majesty be humbly moved, from this house, to forbear
‘ to make any leases of lands, or other grants of the re-
‘ venue of the crown, till the said last-mentioned act
‘ be passed.’ — The revenue was settled : but
the bill for settling the lands of the crown, in the man-
ner intended, was never perfected ; and his majesty,
and his after-parliament, paid so little regard to the
sense of these men, who had done so much for him,
that, in the Statute Book, we find, ‘ An Act for ad-
‘ vancing the sale of fee-farm rents, and other rents (*t*).
So careless was he of the public ! — I have the
more willingly transcribed the above from the Journals,
as it will be a curiosity to many of my readers, and fur-
nish me with matter for an observation or two.

(*r*) Stat.
22 Car. II.
c. 6.

I. We

without making them the least satisfaction

1. We see here the whole ordinary revenue of the state was in the power of the crown, and called the Revenue of the Crown; without any distinction of what was to be allotted for the Civil List, and what for the current service. In consequence of this, the crown might take what it pleased for itself, and apply as little as it pleased to the public. — This was, naturally, a source of great disorders.

2. Though this revenue was greater than any prince before enjoyed; yet was it far enough from enabling him to carry on the purposes of government, as he managed matters. He had many times large sums from the people, to carry on wars made for purposes far from national. And even in times of profound peace, a variety of ways and means were devised, to fill his pockets at the expence of the public. This appears from the Statute books.

Sir *William Petty* assures us, 'that, in this reign, the ordinary charge of the government, in times of deep and serene peace, was not six hundred pounds *per annum* (u). What we now call the Civil List, must then have been very enormous. One should be apt to think, that his majesty had no occasion to become a pensioner or a bankrupt. — Mr. *Hume* observes, 'that though the parliament voted, in general, that 1,200,000 pounds a year should be settled upon the king; they assigned not any funds which would yield two-thirds of that sum (x).' But he is mistaken. The sum of 2,680,000 *l.* was granted, and raised, for the public services and civil list, the first seven months af-

(u) Political Arithmetick, p. 103.

(x) Vol. ii. P. 133.

tion (ss). A proceeding highly unjust,
and

ter the Restoration; whereof was disbursed, for public services, 1,560,000 *l.* and consequently, the sum obtained for the civil list must have been, in that time, 1,120,000 *l.* This is the very lowest computation. For the sufficiency of the funds, the curious reader will do well to consult my authority (y). I will close this note, by observing, that, though it is said in *Burnet*, and repeated by others, 'that many members of the house of commons assured the king, that, upon his restoration, they intended both to have raised his authority, and to have encreased his revenue; but that the Earl of *Clarendon* had discouraged it, and that all his creatures had possessed the house with such jealousies of the king, that it was not thought fit to trust him too much, nor too far (z).' I say, though this has been often said, it is highly probable, there is no foundation for it; seeing *Clarendon* himself, who seldom fails trumpeting his own praises, and is never so well pleased as when speaking of himself, has not mentioned a word of this real service to his country, had it been a fact, in the long and laboured vindication of himself, under the title of, 'A Continuation of his life.'

(y) Letter
from a By-
stander, p.
66. 8vo.
Lond. 1742.

(z) *Burnet*,
vol. i. p.
251.

(ss) *The crown and church lands were taken from the purchasers, without making them any satisfaction.*] In the year 1646, an ordinance passed both houses for the sale of bishops lands; as another had, by the like authority, for seizing the revenues of the king, queen, and prince, in 1643. Some of the bishops lands were sold in 1647; though the greater part remained in the hands of trustees appointed by parliament. But no sooner

was

and injurious ; equally prejudicial to private

was the commonwealth erected, than the lands of the crown, and the church, were ordered to be sold, in order to enable the government to defend itself, and ease the people. These sales were also deemed a good security against the return of the exiled family ; as the value was great, and the purchasers many : who, it was supposed, would unite, as one man, against all such as should attempt to bring about a revolution in its favour.

—— ‘ The parliament having an army ready to send ‘ to *Ireland*,’ says *Ludlow* ; ‘ a formidable fleet to put ‘ to sea ; another army to keep at home, for their own ‘ defence ; and a considerable force to guard the North ‘ against the *Scots*, who had declared themselves enemies, and waited only an opportunity of shewing it ‘ with advantage ; thought themselves obliged to expose ‘ to sale such lands as had been formerly possessed by ‘ deans and chapters, that they might be enabled, thereby, to defray some part of that great charge that lay ‘ upon the nation. To this end, they authorized trustees to sell the said lands ; provided they could do it ‘ at ten years purchase at the least : but such was the ‘ good opinion that the people had conceived of the ‘ parliament, that most of those lands were sold at the ‘ clear income of fifteen, sixteen, and seventeen years ; ‘ one half of the sums contracted for being paid down ‘ for in ready money. Besides which, the woods were ‘ valued distinctly ; and to be paid for according to the ‘ valuation. All impropriations, belonging to the said ‘ deans and chapters, as well as those of the bishops, ‘ either in possession or reversion, were reserved from

vate property, and the public faith. —

In

‘ sale to enlarge the maintenance of poor ministers.
 ‘ Yet this was not sufficient to restrain that generation
 ‘ of men from inveighing against the parliament, and
 ‘ conspiring with their enemies, both at home and
 ‘ abroad, to weaken their hands, and, if possible, to
 ‘ render them unable to carry on the public service.
 ‘ The fee-farm rents, formerly belonging to the crown,
 ‘ were also sold : and yet, such was the necessity of af-
 ‘ fairs, that, notwithstanding all this, the parliament
 ‘ found themselves obliged to lay a tax of an hun-
 ‘ dred and twenty thousand pounds a month upon the
 ‘ nation ; which burden they bore, for the most part,
 ‘ without regret ; being convinced, that it was wholly
 ‘ applied to the use of the public, and, especially, be-
 ‘ cause those who imposed it paid an equal proportion
 ‘ with the rest. The crown lands were assigned to pay
 ‘ the arrears of those soldiers who were in arms in the
 ‘ year 1647 ; which was done by the influence of the
 ‘ officers of the army, that were in the present service :
 ‘ whereby they made provision for themselves, and neg-
 ‘ lected those that appeared for the parliament at the first,
 ‘ and had endured the heat and burden of the day (a).’
 — I have given this passage at length ; as it contains
 some things remarkable, besides what is relative to the
 present subject. — Mr. *Ludlow*, soon after, says, ‘ The
 ‘ parliament was careful to send money, recruits, and
 ‘ all manner of supplies necessary, to *Ireland* ; which
 ‘ they were the better enabled to do, by those great
 ‘ sums of money daily brought in by the purchasers of
 ‘ the

(a) *Lud-*
low, vol. i.
 p. 299.

In return for such mighty favours, his
majesty

‘ the lands of deans and chapters, which they thought
‘ fit, for the reasons before-mentioned, to expose to
‘ sale : which, as it was an advantage to the nation in
‘ general, by easing them of some part of their contri-
‘ butions, so was it no detriment to any of those pur-
‘ chasers who were heartily engaged in the public ser-
‘ vice : since, if the tide should turn, and our enemies
‘ become prevalent, such persons were likely to have no
‘ better security for the enjoyment of their own pater-
‘ nal estates. Upon this consideration, I contracted
‘ with the trustees commissioned by the parliament for
‘ the mannors of *East Knoel* and *Upton*, in the county
‘ of *Wilts*, wherein I employed that portion which I
‘ had received with my wife ; and a greater sum, arising
‘ from the sale of a part of my patrimonial estate (b).’

(b) Id. p.
304.

—— We may well suppose, that many other equally
zealous republicans, induced by like motives, became
purchasers of these lands from the commissioners, as
they in fact did. Not but some of different parties were
ready enough to contract for them, and take possession
of them ; as they were deemed the best, according to
their value, in the kingdom. The names of Lord *Fair-
fax*, and *Richard Cromwell*, are to be found in the list of
those who bought bishops lands (c) ; as well as *Arthur
Hasilrig's*, *Ludlow's*, and many others ; who, relying
on the public faith, parted with their money to advance
their own and their country's welfare. —— Add to
this, that great numbers of the officers and soldiers
were paid the arrears due to them, by an assignment of

(c) See the
names of the
purchasers,
in the ac-
count of the
sales in Wil-
lis's Survey
of the seve-
ral Cathed-
rals.

majesty behaved with much seeming
affec-

lands which had been forfeited to the commonwealth by such who had opposed their authority, or escheated to them on the extinction of monarchy and episcopacy. This, of course, produced assignments, settlements, and entails; wherein families were interested, and their posterity concerned. The government thought this a good security against kingship: and men of the best sense imagined, that, whatever happened, no one would venture to snatch them out of the hands of the present possessors, on account of their numbers, qualities, and connexions. It is said, there were above four hundred thousand families engaged to the parliament, by way of purchase, in the nation (*d*). They were, however, mistaken. I have before observed, that the king, in his declaration from *Breda*, had said, ‘Because, in the continued distractions of so many years, and so many and great revolutions, many grants and purchases of estates have been made to and by many officers, soldiers, and others, who are now possessed of the same, and who may be liable to actions at law, upon several titles; we are willing, that all such differences, and all things relating to such grants, sales, and purchases, shall be determined in parliament; which can best provide for the just satisfaction of all men who are concerned.’ This seemed to satisfy. But how reasonable soever this might appear, it is certain, the matter was referred to a very partial tribunal. For the parliament, though extremely moderate when compared with the succeeding one, was averse to the commonwealth party, and no less

(*d*) Lord
Sommers’s
Tracts, vol.
iv. p. 485.

affection towards his people; and great
regard

less desirous of their destruction than his majesty and his followers. They had divested them of their power; punished their leaders; and, to make a final end, they stripped them of their possessions, and thereby disabled them from ever making head against them for the future.

—— But this was a work of art, and time. For the lord chancellor, in a conference held between the lords and commons, soon after the Restoration, having taken notice, ‘that, as the king had been long deprived of his rights, so had the queen too; and therefore their lordships did earnestly recommend it to the commons, that they would please to put it into a speedy way, that the queen may receive the rents, dues, and profits of her jointure; and the rather, because it was a thing established upon publick treaty betwixt the two crowns; and therefore this nation (and the house especially) were bound, in honour and justice, to take care of it: his lordship, I say, having taken notice of this, desired also, that they would take along with them the care of the purchasers; and then added a request, that they would take into their thoughts what his majesty had been deprived of so long, if they thought fit (e).’ —

(e) Journal,
8th June,
1660.

The meaning of this was pretty plain. But to disguise it for the present, as the army was on foot, Mr. *Hollis*, the reporter of the conferences, said, ‘that the lord chancellor did afterwards give him this explanation of the last clause, “that there will appear many cases, wherein both the state and the queen have been cozened by the detention of monies in the tenants hands.”’ —

Whereupon it was resolved, ‘That it be referred to a

regard for their welfare and happiness.

Pro-

‘ committee, to consider of the state of the queens majesty’s jointure ; and to inform themselves what part thereof is sold, or otherwise disposed of, and what remains unsold ; what part of that, which is sold, hath been forfeited since the sale, and what not ; and, where any part is not forfeited, what consideration will be fit to be had of the respective purchasers ; what deceits have been used in the purchasing any part thereof ; what rents remain in any of the tenants hands ; and likewise to consider of a sum of money, to be presently provided for the queens majesty’s present support.’ The house of commons, we see, soon commenced good courtiers, at least in their own apprehensions, and were a very different kind of men from those who accused her majesty of high treason, and sequestered the royal revenues ! And yet very certain it is, that the committee, to whom the matters relative to the queen were now referred, was made up of many of those men who had the greatest share in those memorable transactions (f). Such alteration in mens sentiments and behaviour is there under change of times !

(f) Id. ibid.

In pursuance of this resolution, it was ordered, *June 16th* following, ‘ that a stay be forthwith made of all waste upon any of the lands of the queens jointure ; and on any lands of the kings : ’ and, a few days afterwards, it was resolved, ‘ that her majesty be forthwith restored to the possession of several manors, houses, and lands, purchased by persons whose estates are liable to forfeiture.’ Among these were the manors of *Ampthill, Crowland, Somersham, Nonesuch House* and

Proclamations were issued against the rebels

and *Park*, the manor of *Richmond*, *Noneſuch Great Park*, manor of *Weſt Walton*, and the manor of *Oldcourt*, which had been purchaſed by Colonel *Okey*, Mr. *Walton*, Mr. *Scroope*, Major General *Lambert*, Sir *Gregory Norton*, the Colonels *Pride* and *Whalley*, and Alderman *Tichborne* (g); men obnoxious as judges of the late king, and the ſupporters of thoſe who had changed the government in 1648. Things, however, did not reſt

(g) Journal, 23 June, 1660.

here. The confidence increaſing between his majeſty, the parliament, and the people, the houſe of lords reſolved, ' that the king's and queen's majeſties ſhould be, and was ' thereby, reſtored to the poſſeſſion of all his and her honours, jointure, manors, lands, rents, and hereditaments, ' notwithſtanding any ſales, alienations, or diſpoſitions, ' made by any pretended authority whatſoever (h). —

(h) Parliamentary Hiſt. vol. xxii. p. 384.

Befides this, acts of parliament paſſed, for reſtoring the eſtates of ſuch noblemen as had been forfeited for their adherence to the royal cauſe; and they were put in full poſſeſſion of them, without any conſideration of the purchaſers. — With reſpect to the eccleſiaſtical revenues, it ſeems to have been the intention of the houſe of commons, to have ſettled part of them for the maintenance of the inferior clergy; to reſtore others to the church, ſuch eſpecially as had been bought by the chief managers from 1648 to 1660; and to veſt the property of the remainder, in thoſe who had bought them on the faith of the parliament, before it was ſubjected by the army (i). But the court, having no liking to theſe projects, with great art and dexterity, put off the concluſion of their reſolutions, by promiſes never intended to be

(i) See Journals of Aug. 6th and 7th.

bels in *Ireland*, a people most hateful
to

be kept, till the parliament was dissolved ; whereby all became upon a footing: that is, the whole revenues reverted to the church, in the same unequal proportions as they before had been in.

Thus were men, who had relied on the faith of the public, and advanced their monies for the defence of the rights and liberties of the people, in opposition to regal and ecclesiastical tyranny, deprived of their properties, for no fault but their credulity, in thinking, that the son of a tyrant, and his lawless followers, would have any regard to right and equity in their treatment of their opponents. And thus were the ecclesiastical revenues, which, wisely managed, might have been made useful to the state, and provided well for the state clergy at the same time, permitted to revert into the hands of men to whom they have seldom done good, unless the enabling them to live in pomp, splendor, and luxury, should be thought such. — There were not more than nine or ten bishops living at the time of the Restoration (*k*). These were old ; and might have been well provided for during life. No ecclesiastic had any claim, in equity, to their revenues after them ; and, consequently, if the present possessors must be deprived of them for past offences, the state should have applied them to the use of the public, whereby the people would have been greatly eased for generations to come. — Yea, justice, in part at least, might have been done to the purchasers, even though the revenues were, for the future, to flow in their old channel. ‘ For almost

(*k*) Barwick's Life,
p. 218.

to the *English*; against vicious and debauched

‘all the leases of the church estates over *England* were
 ‘fallen in, there having been no renewal for twenty
 ‘years. The leases for years were determined: and
 ‘the wars had carried off so many men, that most of
 ‘the leases for lives were fallen into the incumbents
 ‘hands. So that the church estates were in them:
 ‘and the fines, raised by the renewing the leases, rose
 ‘to about a million and a half (l).’ ---- Had this money
 been given to the honest and fair purchasers, it
 probably would have went far towards making them
 satisfaction. But as it was pocketed by the bishops,
 and other ecclesiastics, there was great ground for
 complaint of injustice and oppression. Very many families
 were reduced to the deepest poverty and distress, by these
 proceedings. — Dr. *Cornelius Burges*, who had
 bought many church lands, and rebuilt the Dean’s house
 at *Wells*, at the expence of 1500 or 2000 *l.* for which
 he had been offered 12000 and odd pounds but a year
 before the Restoration, at this time lost all; and became
 so poor, that he had not bread to eat (m). Dr. *Barlow*
 imputes this to the divine justice; --- but, in truth, it
 ought to be placed to the iniquity of the times, when
 truth, justice, equity, and every thing right, had much
 less regard paid to them, than bigotry, superstition,
 malice, and revenge. — It may reasonably be supposed,
 that the purchasers did not submit quietly to this treat-
 ment. The above-mentioned Dr. *Burges* published
 several treatises, I find, on this subject. Here are their
 titles, according to Mr. *Wood*:

(l) Burnet,
 vol. i. p.
 186.

(m) Wood’s
Athenæ,
 vol. ii. c.
 348.

bauched persons; against fighting duels;
for

‘ 1. No sacrilege nor sin to aliene or purchase the
‘ lands of bishops, or others, whose offices are abo-
‘ lished. *Lond.* 1659. 2d edit. of this book. There
‘ was a 3d edit. *Lond.* 1660, revised and abbreviated
‘ for the service of the parliament.

‘ 2. A case concerning the lawfulness of buying
‘ bishops lands.

‘ 3. Another paper, reported to be his, wherein the
‘ kings majesty is attempted, by the offer of five hun-
‘ dred thousand pounds, to make good, by an act of
‘ parliament, the purchases of bishops, deans, and chap-
‘ ters lands, for 99 years. Printed 1660.

Charles I. we know, consented to something of a
like nature, at the treaty of *Newport*, for the satisfac-
tion of purchasers; though sacrilege and schism were as
offensive to his nostrils, as to those of his pious son and
successor (n).

(n) *Histo-
rical and
Critical Ac-
count of
Charles I.
p. 460.*

‘ 4. Apology for purchasers of lands late of bishops,
‘ deans, and chapters. This is a sheet in folio; and
‘ therein,’ says *Wood*, ‘ is shewn a great deal of read-
‘ ing (o).’

(o) *Athe-
næ, vol. ii.
c. 349.*

None of these tracts have fallen under my inspection.
— But I have now before me a little treatise, intituled,
‘ *Fides-Anglicana* : or, A plea for the public-faith of
‘ these nations. By *George Wither*.’ A man held in
some esteem, in his own time, as a poet; but since,
long since, neglected and forgot in that capacity. This
is a sensible, bold piece; and contains many things
worth perusing. Take the following extract as a spe-
cimen. — ‘ As for the lands claimed by the prelates,
‘ there

for suppressing disorderly meetings at
taverns,

‘ there is little hope the late purchasers will have any
‘ considerable redress in lieu of them, if the said prelates
‘ be permitted to proceed as they begin : for (excepting
‘ two or three of them, as this remonstrant hath heard,
‘ who perhaps desire the episcopal function should be re-
‘ duced to the pristine constitution) so ambitious are they
‘ of pre-heminence, and so greedily hunt after immode-
‘ rate riches in their old age, that, regarding neither
‘ the tears of the oppressed nor orders of parliament *,
‘ nor the kings gracious condescensions published on
‘ the behalf of purchasers, they, following the dictates of
‘ their own avarice, take up the whole rents, make
‘ forcible entries, grant leases to them who will give
‘ most, and arbitrarily seize the estates of the purchasers,
‘ before the times limited are expired, or the kings
‘ com-

* In the Journals of the House of Commons, it is said, ‘ Whereas com-
‘ plaint hath been made, that several riots have been committed, and forci-
‘ ble entries made, upon the possessions of divers persons, ecclesiastical and
‘ temporal, who have been settled in the said possessions by order of one or
‘ both houses of parliament, or other lawful or pretended authority; and
‘ that without any order of parliament, or legal eviction; to the disturbance
‘ of the public peace, whilst the’e matters are under the consideration of the
‘ parliament: it is therefore ordered, by the and commons, in
‘ parliament assembled, that no person, or persons, ecclesiastical or temporal,
‘ shall presume, indirectly or forcibly, to enter upon or disturb the said pos-
‘ sessions, or any of them, till the parliament take order therein, or an eviction
‘ be had by due course of law.

‘ Resolved, That this order be re-committed to the same committee, to put
‘ it into the form of a proclamation, to be offered to the kings majesty;
‘ omitting the word, “indirectly.” This was on the 28th of May, 1660.
A proclamation was accordingly issued, June 1, following, ‘ for quieting
‘ possessions.’

taverns, and tipling-houses; for a general

‘ commissioners can have time to take their causes into
 ‘ consideration; and before many can have means to
 ‘ present them, or be in a capacity to treat. This re-
 ‘ monstrant, in particular, having now lost, about eight
 ‘ years, 300 *l. per annum*, in a purchase of their lands
 ‘ who were heretofore called delinquents, which lands
 ‘ cost him as good as almost twenty years purchase in
 ‘ ready money. Also 1681 *l.* 15 shillings and eight
 ‘ pence, charged by ordinance upon the excise in course,
 ‘ which, with the interest thereof, hath been eighteen
 ‘ years almost unpaid. And now he is in danger to lose
 ‘ totally between five and six hundred pounds *per annum*
 ‘ more, in prelates lands, in possession and reversion;
 ‘ part whereof coming into possession the last year, be-
 ‘ ing unstockt, and not demisable, by reason the title is
 ‘ disparaged, hath cost him in taxes, with other duties
 ‘ and necessary disbursements therein dispended, more
 ‘ than twice so much as he could raise out of them, by
 ‘ occasion of the said prelates forcible intrusions. The
 ‘ remainder of this remonstrants stock and goods, were,
 ‘ by attachments out of the said prelates own courts
 ‘ (without arrest, or any cause formerly made known,
 ‘ according to equity, or the common-law of this land),
 ‘ illegally (and some of them, as he thinks, feloniously)
 ‘ taken in the night, and carried away by the said pre-
 ‘ lates officers or agents, being strangers, without any
 ‘ known lawful officer. And the said remonstrant nei-
 ‘ ther being at home, nor having the liberty of his per-
 ‘ son, or any other means left to defend himself against
 ‘ such outrages, or to maintain his family, but by cha-
 ‘ rity,

neral thanksgiving, and a general pardon,
in

‘ rity, is, by this usage, and that which hath been
‘ thereby occasioned, deprived of as much of his estate,
‘ as, being sold to the value, and proportionably distri-
‘ buted, might have satisfied most of his personal debts,
‘ had it not been so torn from him by some unconscion-
‘ able creditors, and the said officers maliciously confede-
‘ rating together to the taking away, at the third part of
‘ the value, the remainder of his household stuff, wear-
‘ ing apparel, victuals, and the beds whereon his wife,
‘ children, and servants lay; as also the wood in his yard,
‘ without any other authority but will and pleasure, for
‘ the use of the prelates now tenant; who, being re-
‘ puted (perhaps because a papist) a true son of the
‘ church, is now seated upon that farm which he hath
‘ forcibly seized; some of his said agents being so shame-
‘ less, as to make answer, when the illegality of their
‘ proceedings was objected, that this remonstrant should
‘ not be left able to prosecute his remedy at law, or
‘ words to that effect, which they have made good:
‘ insomuch that this remonstrant is compelled, in his
‘ old age, to shut up himself in a lone room, without a
‘ servant, night and day, both in sickness and health;
‘ his wife necessitated, above fifty miles distant, to keep
‘ possession, with her maid, in a naked house, standing
‘ far from neighbours (and much farther from honest
‘ men), and his children and servants being scattered
‘ to seek harbour and livelihood where they can get it.
‘ This, and much worse, is the remonstrants present
‘ outward condition, by delay of the relief hoped for,
‘ and by his being thereby disabled to prosecute means
‘ of

in pursuance of the declaration from
Breda.

(o) Fides
Anglicana;
p. 35. 8vo.
Lond. 1660.

‘ of redressing his grievances any further. In the like
‘ condition (as he believeth) many thousands are at this
‘ day among the said purchasers, lenders, and such as
‘ fall under them, by the ruin of those who are im-
‘ verished by their wants (o).’ — In another place, he
‘ says, ‘ either the long parliament had power to make
‘ such sales, and grant such securities ; or they had not.
‘ If they had such a power, then their sales and securi-
‘ ties must be allowed and confirmed ; or, at least (if,
‘ in law and equity, restitution of what was by them
‘ sold ought to be made to the former possessors), then
‘ recompence must be given another way ; else, in-
‘ justice is committed ; God, and the nation, are dis-
‘ honoured ; and many thousand families, and innocent
‘ persons, will be unmercifully exposed to ruin. — On
‘ the other part, if it should be granted, that the
‘ foresaid parliament assumed and exercised, wilfully,
‘ a power not thereto belonging, to the damnifying of
‘ those who confided in them ; that parliament’s succe-
‘ sors ought then, in justice, to award satisfaction out
‘ of their estates who arrogated such an unwarrantable
‘ power, as far as they will extend, if they can be dis-
‘ tinguished from those among them who were guiltless.
‘ And if that distinction cannot be made, or the damages
‘ exceed their abilities ; then condign satisfaction should
‘ be made out of their common purse who intrusted those
‘ with public faith : for the greatest part of the people
‘ have often been too careless upon whom they impose
‘ that confidence ; and, perhaps, will be more wary, when
‘ they have well paid for it, what persons they chuse ;
‘ and

Breda. The last was a prelude to the
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‘and be so wise, as to consider, that they who have not
‘wit enough to govern their private estates, or they who
‘consume many thousands of pounds in alehouses, inns,
‘and taverns (whose reckonings, as this remonstrant
‘hears, are not yet paid), to procure themselves to be
‘elected by feasting and drunkenness, had, probably,
‘some worse ends in being so prodigal, than a sincere
‘intention to serve God, their king, and their coun-
‘try (p).’ — But all that this writer got by speaking freely

(p) Id. p.
14.

on this subject, was, a confinement in *Newgate*, and
afterwards in the *Tower*; where he was debarred pen,
ink, and paper; and an impeachment was ordered, by
the house of commons, to be drawn up against him (q).

(q) Wood’s
Athenæ,
vol. ii. c.
392.

— So dangerous a thing is it to speak truth, at certain
seasons! Happily, however, there are persons who
will dare to do it at all times; and, thereby, keep in
some awe lawless oppressors. May the praise of such be
eternal! — Let us now hear Lord *Clarendon’s* account
of this matter. — ‘The old bishops, who remained
‘alive,’ says he, ‘and such deans and chapters as were
‘numerous enough for the corporation, who had been
‘long kept fasting, had now appetites proportionable.
‘Most of them were very poor, and had undergone
‘great extremities; some of the bishops having sup-
‘ported themselves, and their families, by teaching
‘schools, and submitting to the like low condescensions.
‘And others saw, that if they died before they were en-
‘abled to make some provision for them, their wives and
‘children must unavoidably starve: and therefore they
‘made haste to enter upon their own. And now an ordi-

in pursuance of the declaration from
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' nance of parliament had not strength enough to bat-
 ' ter an act of parliament. They called their old te-
 ' nants to account for rent, and to renew their estates
 ' if they had a mind to it; for most old leases were ex-
 ' pired in the long continuance of the war, and the old
 ' tenants had been compelled, either to purchase a new
 ' right and title from the state (when the ordinance was
 ' passed for taking away all bishops, deans, and chap-
 ' ters, and for selling all the lands that belonged to
 ' them), or to sell their present estates to those who had
 ' purchased the reversion and inheritance thereof: so
 ' that both the one and the other, the old tenants and
 ' the new purchasers, repaired to the true owners as soon
 ' as the king was restored; the former expecting to be
 ' restored again to the possession of what they had sold,
 ' under the unreasonable pretence of a tenant right (as
 ' they called it), because there remained yet (as in many
 ' cases there did) a year or some other term of their old
 ' leases unexpired, and because they had, out of consci-
 ' ence, forbore to buy the inheritance of the church,
 ' which was offered to them: and for the refusal there-
 ' of, and such a reasonable fine as was usual, they hoped
 ' to have a new lease, and to be re-admitted to be te-
 ' nants to the church. The other, the purchasers
 ' (amongst which there were some very infamous persons),
 ' appeared as confident, and did not think that, accord-
 ' ing to the clemency practised towards all sorts of men,
 ' it could be thought justice, that they should lose the
 ' entire sum they had disbursed upon the faith of that
 ' government which the whole kingdom submitted to;
 ' but that they should, instead of the inheritance they
 ' had an ill title to, have a good lease for lives, or
 ' years, granted to them by them who had now the
 ' right;

‘ right ; at least, that upon the old rent and moderate
‘ fines, they should be continued tenants to the church,
‘ without any regard to those who had sold both their
‘ possession, and with that all the right or title that they
‘ might pretend to, for a valuable consideration. And
‘ they had the more hope of this, because the king had
‘ granted a commission, under the great seal of *Eng-*
‘ *land*, to some lords of the council, and to other emi-
‘ nent persons, to interpose and mediate with the bishops
‘ and clergy in such cases as ought not to be prosecuted
‘ with rigour. But the bishops and clergy, concerned,
‘ had not the good fortune to please their old or their
‘ new tenants. They had been very barbarously used
‘ themselves ; and that had too much quenched all ten-
‘ derness towards others. They did not enough distin-
‘ guish between persons : nor did the suffering any man
‘ had undergone for fidelity to the king, or his affection
‘ to the church, eminently expressed, often prevail for
‘ the mitigation of his fine ; or if it did sometimes,
‘ three or four stories of the contrary, and in which
‘ there had been some unreasonable hardness used, made
‘ a greater noise, and spread farther, than their exam-
‘ ples of charity and moderation. And as honest men
‘ did not usually fare the better for any merit ; so the
‘ purchasers, who offered most money, did not fare the
‘ worse for all the villanies they had committed. And
‘ two or three unhappy instances of this kind, brought
‘ scandal upon the whole church ; as if they had been
‘ all guilty of the same excesses, which they were
‘ far from. And by this means the new bishops, who
‘ did not all follow the precedents made by the old, un-
‘ derwent the same reproaches : and many of them who
‘ had most adhered to their order, and for so doing had

‘ undergone, for twenty years together, sundry persecutions and oppressions, were not, in their present passion, so much pleased with the renewing it as they expected to have been. Yet upon very strict examination of the true grounds of all those misprisions (except some few instances which cannot be defended) there will be found more passion than justice in them; and that there was even a necessity to raise as much money as could be, justly, for the repairing the cathedrals, which were all miserably ruined or defaced; and for the entirely building up many houses of the prebends, which had been pulled down or let fall to the ground. And those ways, much more of those monies, which were raised by fines, were issued and expended, than what went into the private purses of them who had a right to them, and had need enough of them. But the time began to be froward again, and all degrees of men were hard to be pleased; especially when they saw one classis of men restored to more than they had ever lost, and preferred to a plenty they had never been acquainted with; whilst themselves remained remediless after so many sufferings, and without any other testimony of their courage and fidelity, than in the ruin of their fortunes, and the sale of their inheritance (r).’ Such is his lordship’s account of this business: an account obscure, confused, and imperfect; but yet sufficient to give the attentive reader light enough to perceive that great injustice and oppression were exercised in it. — ‘ He that lends upon public faith, is security for his own money,’ says one; ‘ and can blame none, more than himself, if never paid. Common debts, like common lands, lying ever most neglected (s).’ The purchasers had but

(r) Continuation, vol. ii. p. 183.

(s) Osborn’s Works, p. 17. 8vo. Lond. 1673.

famous act of indemnity and oblivion (TT),
fo

too much cause to think so at this time. Though, great as the public debt at present is, it is to be hoped, the public faith will never more be so scandalously broken.

(TT) *The act of indemnity and oblivion.*] The king, in his declaration from *Breda*, says, ‘ We do, by these presents, declare, that we do grant a free and general pardon, which we are ready, upon demand, to pass, under our Great Seal of *England*, to all our subjects, of what degree or quality soever, — excepting only such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by parliament.’ The house of commons, in consequence of this, ‘ *Resolved*, That the house doth declare, that, in the name of themselves and of all the commons of *England*, they do lay hold of his majesty’s free and general pardon, tendered in his gracious declaration, given under his majesty’s sign manual and privy signet, at his court at *Breda*, with reservation to except such persons as shall be excepted, by this present parliament, in the act of general pardon and oblivion.’ — It was, moreover, ‘ *Resolved*, That this house, with their speaker, do attend his majesty, and present this their vote and declaration to him; with their humble desire, that it may be as effectual to all his subjects in particular (except as before excepted), as if every of them had at any time, since the first of *May* last, personally laid hold upon his majesty’s grace and pardon; and by public act declared their doing so: and that his majesty would be graciously pleased to declare his acceptance hereof accordingly; and, by his royal proclamation,

so essential to the security and safety of
the

(*t*) Jour-
nal, 7th
June, 1660.

‘clamation, to assure the hearts of his subjects of the
‘same (*t*).’ A proclamation, accordingly, was issued ;
but the bill stuck long in the house, through difference
of sentiment concerning the persons to be excepted ;
and some disputes with the lords, relative to the mean-
ing of the proclamation for summoning the persons who
sat in judgment on the late king, to surrender them-
selves. This excited uneasiness, jealousies, and fears.
To remove these, his majesty very wisely sent a mes-
sage to the commons, by Mr. Secretary *Morrice* ; in
which (after highly applauding their proceedings, and
magnifying their affections to him, as well as his own
regard to his people), he says, — ‘It is evident, that
‘all we have or do offer, doth not enough compose the
‘minds of our people ; nor, in their opinions, can their
‘security be provided for, till the act of indemnity and
‘oblivion be passed : and we find great industry is used
‘by those, who do not wish that peace to the kingdom
‘they ought to do, to persuade our good subjects, that
‘we have no mind to make good our promises, which,
‘in truth, we desire to perform for our own sake as
‘well as theirs : and we do therefore very earnestly re-
‘commend it to you, that all possible expedition be
‘used in the passing that most necessary act, whereby
‘our good subjects generally will be satisfied, that their
‘security is in their own hands, and depends upon
‘their future actions ; and that they are free for all that
‘is past ; and so all the endeavours of ill men will be dis-
‘appointed, which would persuade them not to do well
‘now, because they have heretofore done amiss. And
‘we

the king and the people. — His majesty,

‘ we are the more engaged to this our recommendation,
 ‘ because, upon the reflection of your eminent zeal and
 ‘ affection for our service, and hearty concurrence with
 ‘ us in all we have desired from you, men are apt to
 ‘ persuade others, though they do not believe it them-
 ‘ selves, that the passing the act is therefore deferred,
 ‘ because we do not enough press the dispatch of it,
 ‘ which we do desire from our heart, and are confident you
 ‘ will the sooner do, upon this our earnest recommenda-
 ‘ tion (u).’ The commons were very desirous of com-
 plying with his majesty’s inclinations: — but the lords,
 full of pride and desires of revenge, were more back-
 ward, though the public safety evidently depended on
 it. To quicken them, therefore, the king went to their
 house, *July 27*, and, after reading to them part of his
 declaration from *Breda*, he added, ‘ My Lords, if you
 ‘ do not join with me in extinguishing this fear, which
 ‘ keeps the hearts of men awake, and apprehensive of
 ‘ safety and security; you keep me from performing my
 ‘ promise, which, if I had not made, I am persuaded,
 ‘ neither I nor you had been now here. I pray, let us
 ‘ not deceive those who brought or permitted us to come
 ‘ together. I knew well there were some men who
 ‘ could neither forgive themselves, nor be forgiven by
 ‘ us; and I thank you for your justice towards those
 ‘ the immediate murderers of my father: and I will
 ‘ deal truly with you, I never thought of excepting any
 ‘ other. I pray think well upon what I have offered,
 ‘ and the benefit you and I have received from that offer;
 ‘ and encourage and oblige all other persons, by not ex-
 ‘ cluding them from the benefit of this act. This

(u) Jour-
 nal, June
 18, 1660.

jeſty, moreover, conſented to part with
the

‘mercy and indulgence is the beſt way to bring them
‘to a true repentance, and to make them more ſevere to
‘themſelves, when they find we are not ſo to them. It will
‘make them good ſubjects to me, and good friends and
‘neighbours to you; and we have then all our end,
‘and you ſhall find this the ſecureſt expedient to pre-
‘vent future miſchief. Therefore I do earneſtly deſire
‘and conjure you to depart from all particular animoſities
‘and revenge, or memory of paſt provocations; and
‘that you will paſs this act without other exceptions than
‘of thoſe who were immediately guilty of the murder of
‘my father (x).’

(x) Phil-
lips’s Conti-
nuation, p.
738.

This interpoſition, however irregular, was highly grateful to the people; eſpecially as it induced the lords to conſent to the act, which received the royal aſſent, Aug. 29, 1660, and is entitled, ‘An Act of free and general pardon, indemnity, and oblivion.’ It is ſtrongly and clearly expreſſed: but the crime of rebellion, as having been committed in *England*, is not mentioned in it. — A late writer is pleaſed to ſtile this bill, ‘An Act of clemency; the greateſt that ever was ſhewn from a king to a rebellious crew, when he had them in his power, and could cruſh them down ſo low as never to riſe again. It has been a diſpute,’ continues he, ‘amongſt our hiſtorians, whether this act of general pardon did not more expoſe the king’s weakneſs, than his merciful diſpoſition. Could any prince, ſay they, ſo far forget himſelf, as to pardon more than one half of his fathers abſolute murderers? His own and brothers long baniſhment, to ſeek relief and even bread from foreign princes, where they were ſlighted

the court of wards and liveries, and tenures

‘ slighted and bandied about, from court to court, seeking rest and finding none ; and where they infallibly must have starved, but that the wretched remains of the loyal party in *England* spared them somewhat, by way of contribution, to support them, out of their own shattered incomes. All these circumstances rendered it scarce possible they could be forgot so soon as they were ; and, on the king’s side, we may say, buried in eternal oblivion (y).’

(y) Parliamentary History, vol. xxii. p. 462.

In another place, I may speak of the gratitude of this monarch : — here I shall observe, 1. That it does not appear, from the preamble of the act, that a rebellious crew was intended to be pardoned. ‘ The kings most excellent majesty, taking into his gracious and serious consideration,’ says the preamble, ‘ the long and great troubles, discords, and wars, that have for many years past been in this kingdom ; and that divers of his subjects are, by occasion thereof, and otherwise, fallen into, and be obnoxious to, great pains and penalties ;’ &c.

2. The persons, pardoned by this act, were as well those who had acted by virtue of the authority of the present king, and his father ; as such who had derived their power from the parliament, or the protectors.

3. More than one half of the murderers of the late king, if so they are to be called, were not pardoned. — Mr. *Coke* has justly observed, ‘ that the Convention took terrible vengeance on the judges of *Charles I.* For though they did not all suffer in their persons ; scarce any of them but forfeited their estates (z).’ This, and imprisonment, the lot of many of them, must be

(z) Detection, vol. ii. p. 100. 8vo. Lond. 1694.

nures *in capite*, and by knights service
and

as cruel as death to men of spirit, accustomed to power and affluence. That no more of *Charles's* tryers were put to death, was, because the fon could not catch them.

4. It was not clemency that excited the concern of of his majesty in the Bill of Indemnity ; but necessity, and personal safety. This Lord *Clarendon* himself asserts. ‘ It was very evident,’ says he, ‘ to the king ‘ himself, and to dispassioned men, that no person was ‘ so much concerned, though all were enough, that ‘ there should be no longer delay in passing the Act of ‘ Indemnity, as the king himself was ; there being no ‘ progress made in any other business, by the disorder ‘ and ill humour that grew out of that. There was no ‘ attempt to be made towards disbanding the army, until ‘ the Act of Indemnity should be first passed : nor could ‘ they begin to pay off the navy, till they were ready to ‘ pay off the arrears of the army. This was the *remora* ‘ in all the counsels ; whilst there wanted not those who ‘ infused jealousies into the minds of the soldiers, and ‘ into the city, that the king had no purpose ever to ‘ consent to the Act of Indemnity ; which was looked ‘ upon as the only universal security for the peace of the ‘ nation : and till that was done, no man could say that ‘ he dwelt at home, nor the king think himself in any ‘ good posture of security (a).’

(a) Continuation, vol. ii. p. 132.

5. The people, by calling home his majesty and his followers, had merited highly from him ; and, consequently, were intitled not only to pardon, but thanks, from his hands. This appeared so strongly to a very sensible

and purveyance (so vexatious and oppressive

five

sensible writer, that, speaking of one, who said, ‘ that
‘ King *Charles* entered upon a nation of rebels, and
‘ that the lives and estates of the whole people were
‘ forfeited : ’ — I say, speaking of this matter, he cries
out, — ‘ Observe, O ye *Britons* ! the spirit of this
‘ writer ; and observe, that this was the first compliment
‘ which that prince, and his vagabond crew, at their
‘ return, most thankfully paid to your generous ancestors !
‘ And from hence learn the gratulations you
‘ would meet with yourselves. Remember how this
‘ company of strollers, just rescued from the imminent
‘ danger of starving, insulted and spurned your brave
‘ forefathers ; declaring themselves absolute masters of
‘ the kingdom ; and that the whole nation was indebted
‘ to their unparallel’d mercy, for pardon and remission of
‘ their lives and fortunes. This was the conduct and
‘ gratitude of *Charles* II. at the late Restoration ; and
‘ such has been the constant temper and principle of the
‘ *Stuart* family. Our ancestors, most miserably disappointed,
‘ instead of receiving the thanks and love of
‘ this prince for recalling him, perceived they were only
‘ to be abused and menaced for his former expulsion.
‘ They saw plenty of lawyers and clergy, who declared
‘ the whole nation rebels and traytors. And this business
‘ was pushed with such vehemence forwards, that, at
‘ last, as this author reminds us, the house of commons,
‘ in a body, were glad to attend upon their new king,
‘ and, in the name of themselves and all the commons
‘ of *England*, to lay hold on his gracious declaration
‘ from

five to the nobility and gentry), in consideration of an excise (uu) on liquors,
to

(b) Letter to Mr. Carte, by a Gentleman of Cambridge, p. 111. 8vo, Lond. 1743.

‘from *Breda* (b).’ Had these considerations occurred to the mind of the gentleman who occasioned them, he would never, doubtless, have talked in the way he has done. But they were not to be found amongst his collections. — *Charles* received a favour, a mighty favour, in being called home, placed on a throne, and amply provided for : — the people nothing but a security from the effects of their folly, in restoring him without terms, conditions, or limitations. On which side then was the favour ? who was most under obligations ? The act however, as things were, was wise, necessary, and popular.

(uu) *The king consented to the abolishing the court of wards and liveries, in consideration of an excise.*] The feudal law was, very probably, introduced by the Saxons ; but, certainly, fully established by *William the Norman*. In many respects it was favourable to liberty ; — in others, a yoke of intolerable slavery. — ‘Tenure by homage, fealty, and escuage, is to hold by ‘knights service,’ says *Littleton* ; ‘and it draweth to it ‘ward, marriage, and relief.’ That this was a grievous burthen on the nobility and gentry, will not be doubted by such as know, that the king, in virtue of this tenure, had the wardship of all infant heirs male, and the benefit of their estates till they arrived at the age of twenty-one years : of female heirs, till they were sixteen years, if they so long remained unmarried : and the power of marrying both the one and the other, to whom he pleased

to be paid chiefly by the common people.

pleased : as also a year or half a year's rent, on their being at age, for their relief : at which time they were to sue out their livery ; which was attended with many hardships and inconveniences.

In the time of *Henry VIII.* a court of wards and liveries was erected ; which produced multitudes of complaints, by reason of its rigorous proceedings. The owners of these lands were very sensible of their bad condition : but there was no remedy. The crown was in possession of a very great power : and the crown was unwilling to part with it, but upon valuable considerations. When the cause of *Charles I.* declined, the court of wards, of course, was laid aside, and no proceedings were held in it : consequently, the possessors of lands by tenure of knights service, by much the most numerous in the kingdom, were liable to mighty forfeitures. This the parliament was aware of ; and this they were determined to guard against. An act of parliament therefore was framed for taking away all military tenures, with their various incidents, fruits, and dependencies attending them ; and turning them into free and common socage (c). — This was an enlargement of the liberty of the subject ; and an acquisition of great consequence to the nation, or rather to that part of it which possessed the honors, manors, tenements, and hereditaments released from the feudal tenure. ----- But the parliament, though they took care of themselves, left the lower class of people as they were ; yea, put them in a worse condition, on account of the subjecting them to an excise as the price of the great mens freedom.

(c) Stat.
12 Caroli
II. c. 24.

ple. This, however, was looked upon
as

freedom. If the court of wards bore hard on the possessors of manors, lordships, and royalties; these, in their turn, bore as hard, perhaps harder, on their own tenants, and treated them with equal or greater severity. — ‘The *Norman* conquest and tyranny,’ says Mr. *Wall*, in his letter to *Milton*, dated, *Causbam*, May 26, 1659, ‘is continued upon the nation, without any thought of removing it. I mean the tenure of lands by *copyhold*, and holding for life under a lord, or rather, tyrant of a manour: whereby people care not to improve their land by cost upon it, not knowing how soon themselves, or theirs, may be outed it; nor what the house is in which they live, for the same reason: and they are far more enslaved to the lord of the manour, than the rest of the nation is to a king or supream magistrate (d).’ ----- The observation is strong, just, striking, and very obvious. It was, however, taken no notice of. On the contrary, to hinder tenants of manors from claiming or expecting any relief, it was expressly inserted, in the act for abolishing the court of wards, ‘that this act, or any thing therein contained, shall not alter or change any tenure by copyhold of court-roll, or any services incident thereunto.’ So cautious was the legislature of the rich, so unmindful of those in lower circumstances, who are constantly as it were under the harrow, and liable to forfeitures and seizures, even for no real damages, through ignorance or inadvertency, on their own parts; or the power, craft, and insolence of those under whom they thus precariously hold what they possess for valuable considerations.

(d) Preface to the 2d edition of *Iconoclastes*, p. 6. 4to. Lond. 1756.

as a favour; and his majesty received
for

tions. — But this was not the worst. The people of all ranks and degrees were obliged constantly to pay for that freedom from the feudal tenure, which, by this act, the rich and the great, and they alone, were intitled to or availed by. What was it to the lower ranks of *Englishmen*, by what tenure their superiors held those lands which gave them so much power or preheminance? What were they the better for their being changed from military service, into free and common socage? If they were not bettered thereby, nor by any thing in the act relating to it, as evidently they were not — it was highly unjust and unreasonable that they should be excised, in order that the estates of noblemen and gentlemen should be exonerated of burdens to which they had been liable from the Conquest. — Yet, plain as all this was, it is said, in the body of the act, ‘ And now, to the intent and purpose that his majesty, ‘ his heirs and successors, may receive a full and ample ‘ recompence and satisfaction, as well for the profits of ‘ the said court of wards, and the tenures, wardships, liveries, primer-seisins, ouster le mains, and other the ‘ premisses and perquisites incident thereunto; and for all ‘ arrears any way due for the same; as also for all and all ‘ manner of purveyance and provisions herein before- ‘ mentioned, and intended to be taken away and abolished; and all sums of money due, or pretended to be ‘ due, or payable for and in respect of any compositions ‘ for the same: be it therefore enacted, by the authority afore said, that there shall be paid to the king’s ‘ majesty, his heirs and successors, for ever hereafter, in ‘ recom-

for it the acknowledgments of the house
of

‘ recompence, as aforesaid, the several rates, impositions,
‘ duties, and charges herein after expressed, and in man-
‘ ner and form following.’ &c. — The people then,
that their betters might be at ease, were loaded, by this
act, with an excise on ale, beer, cyder, perry, mead,
vinegar, strong waters, coffee, tea, chocolate, and sher-
bet. — But laws are made by the Rich; who too
often have consulted their own benefit, more than that of
the public; and preferred their particular and private
interest, to the ease and tranquillity of the community:
which, beast of burden like, has tamely submitted to be
loaded and loaded, *ad infinitum*.

This remarkable bill did not pass the house of com-
mons without great opposition. ‘ November 21, 1660,’
says a certain writer, ‘ the commons went again on the
‘ business of the court of wards; when Sir *Heneage*
‘ *Finch* opened the debate, by moving, that the annual
‘ income to be settled on the king, in lieu thereof,
‘ might be raised by an excise on beer and ale, and to
‘ take away purveyance also. And that half of this ex-
‘ cise might be settled for the king’s life, and the other
‘ half for ever on the crown. This motion was se-
‘ conded by Mr. *Bunckley* and Mr. *Pierpoint*; but Sir
‘ *John Frederick*, Mr. *Jolliffe*, Sir *William Vincent*, Mr.
‘ *Annesley*, and some others, spoke against it. The
‘ last-named gentleman, saying, that if this bill was
‘ carried, every man, who earns his bread by the sweat
‘ of his brow, must pay excise to excuse the court of
‘ wards, which would be a greater grievance upon all,
‘ than

of commons. — To these things was
added

‘ than the court of wards was to a few. Sir *Anthony*
‘ *Ashley Cooper* spoke against the court of wards, and for
‘ the excise. Mr. *Prynne*, against the excise; saying,
‘ it was not fit to make all housekeepers hold *in capite*,
‘ and to free the nobility: and inveighed passionately
‘ against the excise; adding, that those lands which
‘ ought to pay, being held *in capite*, should pay still.
‘ Mr. *Bamfield* spoke on the same side, and said, he was
‘ against an everlasting excise, and for laying the tax on
‘ lands *in capite*. Mr. *Bainton* also was against an ex-
‘ cise; saying, if it was carried so, they might expect,
‘ that, one time or other, there would be some strange
‘ commotions by the common people about it: that he
‘ was rather for keeping the court of wards, regulated in
‘ its proceedings, than submit to an excise; which, if it
‘ was kept up, an army must be so too to sustain it.
‘ Sir *Thomas Clarges* was against an excise; saying, that
‘ the rebellion in *Naples* came from impositions and
‘ excise. The debate was ended by Serjeant *Maynard*,
‘ and Mr. *Trevor*, who both spoke for an excise; tho’
‘ the last said, that nothing but the court of wards tak-
‘ ing away should have moved him to it. At last, the
‘ question being called for, the house divided, and it
‘ was carried, by *two voices only*, for an excise; the
‘ numbers being 151 against 149 (e).’ So near were
the people to have escaped an unequitable law. —

(e) Parli-
amentary
History, vol.
xxiii. p. 21.

Since the writing the above, I have observed, in turn-
ing over the Journals, that it was ‘ Resolved, *Aug. 4*,
‘ That it be referred, to a select committee, to take

added a declaration concerning ecclesiastical

‘ consideration upon the whole debate of this house, of
 ‘ all rates, and what else shall be offered to them; and,
 ‘ thereupon, to apportion a rate upon the several coun-
 ‘ ties, as equally and indifferently as they possibly can,
 ‘ according to the trust reposed them in by this house,
 ‘ for the raising one hundred thousand pounds *per annum*,
 ‘ to be settled on his majesty, in compensation for ward-
 ‘ ships and liveries, and the court of wards; and to
 (f) Journal. ‘ report the same to the house (f).’ Accordingly, a pa-
 per, containing an apportionment of one hundred thou-
 sand pounds *per annum*, to be settled on his majesty, in
 compensation for the court of wards (being brought in
 by the committee to whom the same was referred), was
 read the 8th of *November*, and is entered in the Jour-
 nal. How the intentions of the house of commons
 were changed; and by what artifices an excise, an
 everlasting excise, was brought in, instead of a land-
 tax which would hardly have been felt, the proportion
 of *Yorkshire* being but 5,800 *l. per annum*, the reader
 may learn from the following quotation from Mr.
Hampden :

‘ Soon after the restoration of King *Charles II.*’ says he,
 ‘ the house of commons expressed a desire, as their pre-
 ‘ decessors had often done, to take away the court of
 ‘ wards; and they had long deliberations how to settle
 ‘ on the crown a recompence for it. Many ways were
 ‘ proposed (as is usual in such cases); but, at last, it
 ‘ was thought best to lay it on land: and they agreed the
 ‘ sum to be one hundred thousand pounds *per annum*,
 ‘ and

‘ and appointed a committee to settle an equal rate on
 ‘ every county towards it. This would have procured
 ‘ another great advantage to the nation, and especially
 ‘ to the associated counties, and others, that are over-
 ‘ taxed in the monthly assessment, by bringing in a just
 ‘ and equal way of taxing all the lands of *England* ac-
 ‘ cording to their true value. The committee, in pur-
 ‘ suance of the order of the house, having taken great
 ‘ pains in settling a new rate, at length agreed upon one,
 ‘ and reported it to the house, and it is entered in the
 ‘ Journal. But while they were taking all these pains,
 ‘ the court was privately informed, by some self-designing
 ‘ men, that it would be of much greater advantage to
 ‘ them, to get a grant of the excise upon beer and ale,
 ‘ since the value of that was unknown : and they assured
 ‘ them, that it would amount to a sum vastly beyond
 ‘ what the parliament intended them in lieu of the court
 ‘ of wards. These men encouraged the court to un-
 ‘ dertake this work ; and promised their assistance and
 ‘ endeavours for the success of their proposal. Here-
 ‘ upon the court resolved to push for the settling of the
 ‘ whole excise ; and by threatening privately the members
 ‘ of that house with a dissolution ; and by giving to some
 ‘ considerable places, they got a question put, to set-
 ‘ tle one moiety of the excise (which had been in-
 ‘ vented * and raised on evident necessity, in the time
 ‘ of

* The first excise, raised by authority of parliament, was in the year
 1643. In an ordinance of the lords and commons, dated Sept. 11, 1643,
 it is said, ‘ The lords and commons, assembled in parliament, taking into
 ‘ their serious consideration the great necessity of providing present supply for
 ‘ the preservation of this kingdom, our religion, laws, and liberties from
 utter

‘ of the civil war, and not granted longer than a few
 ‘ months) upon the crown in fee, in lieu of the court of
 ‘ wards ; and the other moiety on the king for his life.
 ‘ The former part, to give the moiety in fee, in recom-
 ‘ pence of the wardships, was carried in the affirma-
 ‘ tive ; tho’, in truth, it was the giving 300,000*l.* a
 ‘ year for one ; for which that house is justly blamed,
 ‘ and will be so, as ill husbands for the kingdom, and
 ‘ unfaithful to their trust. A great parliament man, late
 ‘ deceased, undertook to make out, it was giving away
 ‘ the barley land of *England*. The other part, *viz.* to
 ‘ give the other moiety for life (as much as that house was
 ‘ influenced by the court), was first carried in the nega-

‘ utter ruin and destruction ; — do hereby ordain, and declare, that the
 ‘ several rates and charges, in the schedule hereunto annexed contained, shall
 ‘ be set and laid upon all the commodities within this realm, over and above
 ‘ all customs, and other duties, due and payable for the same.’ — The
 schedule then follows ; which contains, what is called, the excise and
 new-impost, which was continually explained, amended, and encreased,
 during the war ; though great complaints were made by the people, and pro-
 mises, by both houses, ‘ that whenever they should be enabled to settle
 ‘ the peace of the kingdom, and to overcome the engagements thereof in
 ‘ some good measure, they should then make it appear to the whole world,
 ‘ how much more ready they are to ease the people of this charge, than they
 ‘ were willing at first to impose it.’ — This declaration is dated, Feb. 22,
 1646. In some little measure they made good their words ; — but the
 excise being not wholly abolished, tumults arose, and riots were made.
 Whereupon the two houses, by an ordinance of the 28th of Aug. 1647,
 among other things, ‘ desired Sir Thomas Fairfax, general of the whole
 ‘ forces of the kingdom, to order and enjoin all colonels, captains, officers,
 ‘ and souldiers, under his command, upon application made to them, speedily
 ‘ to suppress all such tumults, &c. and to apprehend all such rioters, that
 ‘ they may be proceeded against according to law.’ Fairfax issued out his or-
 der accordingly, Sept. 4, 1647. It was in vain, after this, to contend.
 The excise continued under the several forms of government ----- Necessity
 being still the plea ----- till the Restoration : from which time, the neces-
 sity has continued ; and, probably, will continue, for --- ever and ever.

‘ tive ;

astical affairs (ww), highly acceptable
to the body of the then clergy, and
breathing

‘tive ; which enraged them to such a degree, that, the
‘next day, a message was sent to the house, to let them
‘know, they were to be dissolved a month after. This
‘was a strange and unusual message : they might have
‘been quickened to dispatch publick bills, and told the
‘session would be short ; but the message, as sent, put
‘men throughout the kingdom on supplanting them.
‘If the members staid in town (and go they could not,
‘without leave of the house), their several interests in
‘their counties were endangered : if they went down,
‘the settling the excise, for life, might be carried in
‘their absence. This was the dilemma the court had
‘brought them too ; and, accordingly, it was granted
‘before that session ended (g).’ — Mr. *Hampden*
did not compute too largely : for Dr. *Davenant* makes
the produce of the single duty on beer and ale, in the
year 1689, to amount to 694,476 l. 2 s. 6½ d (h).
So that the crown was a great gainer.

(ww) *A declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs.*]
The bulk of the clergy at the Restoration, though pres-
byterian, were friends to domination, preheminance,
affluence, and the other good things which the clergy
in general, every where, take a particular pleasure in :
though it must be owned, that, for the most part, they
were more diligent in their functions, and more ex-
emplary in their behaviour, than those who went be-
fore, or such as succeeded them. These men had been
tyrannized over by the bishops before the civil war ;

D d 3

and

(g) See Use
and Abuse
of Parlia-
ments, vol.
i. p. 88.
8vo. Lond.
1744.

(h) Dis-
courses on
the Public
Revenues,
vol. i. p. 74.
8vo. Lond.
1698.

breathing a spirit pleasing to them, and the public in general. — So that his majesty

and therefore, as it was natural, raised a cry against them, and helped forward their destruction. And a good deed had it been in them, if they themselves had known how to improve it aright. But they were strangers to this knowledge. Tyranny over conscience still subsisted; and they themselves acted the same part, as far as they dared, which they had condemned in others. For no sooner did sects, the offspring of liberty, arise, and men of sense give vent to their opinions; but these gentlemen were alarmed, and complained of it as a hardship, that errors, heresies, and blasphemies, should be permitted in a Christian land. They had some attention payed to them for a time; and great was the esteem in which they were held by their followers. But when the commonwealth was erected, their wings were in some good degree clipt; and they were no longer permitted to vex or oppress. They became now, of course, enemies of the government; and joined in every attempt to restore the exiled prince: though, had they at all considered, they must have seen, that they had little reason to expect any advantages thereby. But nothing is more blind than revenge. By persuasions, by example, and by all the methods they had in their power, they were very instrumental in bringing in the king; and, therefore, were intitled to some degree of favour. — Episcopacy was restored immediately with the monarchy; and with episcopacy, it was to be feared, the old government and worship, which the clergy, in general,

majesty was held in high estimation for wisdom and goodness by the generality of

general, were far from approving, would be revived, and they be obliged either to conform, or relinquish their livings. To ease them of these apprehensions, the house of commons had ordered in bills for the better maintenance of ministers; and for the maintenance of the true protestant reformed religion; and for the suppression of popery, superstition, profaneness, and other disorders and innovations in worship and ceremonies (i). But the court chose not to let the parliament have the settlement of ecclesiastical affairs. It would not have answered what was in view. To satisfy them, however, and the clergy, who were greatly favoured by them, Sir *Allen Broadrick* communicated a message, *Aug. 6th*, to the house of commons, from his majesty, which he reduced into writing, on desire, and is as followeth: —

(i) Journals, 27th June, and 6th of Aug. 1660.

‘ I am commanded, by his majesty, to inform this house, that his majesty had written to the several bishops, deans, and chapters, not to let leases of any impropriate tythes, till maintenance were settled on the several vicarages, or curates places, where no vicarages were endowed, to the value of fourscore pounds *per annum*, or more (k).’ The letter was then produced; and it is entered in the Journal. Thanks were hereupon ordered to his majesty for his gracious message; and it was resolved, ‘ That the committee, to whom the preparing of a bill, for the restraining the granting leases by ecclesiastical persons, do hasten the perfecting thereof: and that they likewise prepare, and bring in another bill, taking notice in the preamble

(k) Id. *ibid.*

of the nation, who were now extremely pleased with the prospect of possessing their

(*l*) Journal,
July
20th, 1660.
(*m*) Id.
July 21.

‘ thereof, of the substance of his majesty’s message this
‘ day communicated ; and making provision, pursuant
‘ thereunto, for settling a competent maintenance, out of
‘ impropriations and appropriations, for the persons who
‘ shall officiate the cure in such rectories.’ — The house
having also resolved, ‘ That the kings majesty be hum-
‘ bly desired to call such a number of divines, as his ma-
‘ jesty shall think fit, to advise concerning matters of re-
‘ ligion (*l*) : and his majesty having approved thereof (*m*),
a declaration, concerning ‘ *ecclesiastical affairs*,’ was pub-
lished preparatory thereunto. It is dated, *Whitehall*,
Oct. 25, 1660, and is couched in terms very moderate.
His majesty, after having expressed great respect for the
church of *England* as formerly established, and men-
tioned the esteem in which it was held by the reformed
churches abroad, who, with great zeal, says he, wish
it restored to its old dignity and veneration ; proceeds
in the following manner : ‘ When we were in *Holland*,
‘ we were attended by many grave and learned minis-
‘ ters from hence, who were looked upon as the most
‘ able and principal assertors of the presbyterian opini-
‘ ons, with whom we had as much conference as the
‘ multitude of affairs, which were then upon us, would
‘ permit us to have : and, to our great satisfaction an
‘ comfort, found them persons full of affection to us,
‘ of zeal for the peace of the church and state, and
‘ neither enemies (as they have been given out to be)
‘ to Episcopacy or Liturgy ; but modestly to desire such
‘ alte-

their religion and liberties without molestation. — But the good opinion of the

‘ alterations in either, as, without shaking foundations,
‘ might best allay the present distempers, which the in-
‘ disposition of the time, and the tenderness of some
‘ mens consciences, had contracted. For the better do-
‘ ing whereof, we did intend, upon our first arrival in
‘ this kingdom, to call a synod of divines, as the most
‘ proper expedient to provide a proper remedy for all those
‘ differences and dissatisfactions which had, or should,
‘ arise in matters of religion: and, in the mean time,
‘ we published, in our declaration from *Breda*, a liberty
‘ to tender consciences; and that no man should be dis-
‘ quieted, or called in question, for differences of opi-
‘ nion in matter of religion, which do not disturb the peace
‘ of the kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent
‘ to such an act of parliament as, upon mature delibera-
‘ tion, shall be offered to us for the full granting of that
‘ indulgence. — We must, for the honour of all
‘ those of either persuasion, with whom we have con-
‘ ferred, declare, that the professions and desires of all,
‘ for the advancement of piety and true godliness, are
‘ the same; their professions of zeal for the peace of
‘ the church, the same; of affection and duty to us,
‘ the same: they all approve episcopacy; they all ap-
‘ prove a set form of liturgy; and they all disapprove
‘ and dislike the sin of sacrilege, and the alienation of
‘ the revenue of the church. We need not profess the
‘ high affection and esteem we have for the church of
‘ *England*, as it is established by law, the reverence to
‘ which

the king, and the excellency of his
govern-

‘ which hath supported us, with Gods blessing, against
‘ many temptations : nor do we think that reverence in
‘ the least degree diminished by our condescensions, not
‘ peremptorily to insist on some particulars of ceremony :
‘ and therefore,

‘ 1. We do declare, our purpose and resolution is,
‘ and shall be, to promote the power of godliness ; to
‘ encourage the exercises of religion, both public and
‘ private ; and to take care that the Lords day be ap-
‘ plied to holy exercises, without unnecessary divertise-
‘ ments ; and that insufficient, negligent, and scandal-
‘ ous ministers be not permitted in the church.

‘ 2. Because the dioceses, especially some of them,
‘ are thought to be of too large extent ; we will ap-
‘ point such a number of suffragan bishops, in every di-
‘ ocese, as shall be sufficient for the due performance of
‘ their work.

‘ 3. No bishop shall ordain, or exercise any part of
‘ jurisdiction, which appertains to the censures of the
‘ church, without the advice and assistance of the pres-
‘ byters : and no chancellor, commissary, or official, as
‘ such, shall exercise any act of spiritual jurisdiction in
‘ these cases ; viz. excommunication, absolution, or
‘ wherein any of the ministry are concerned, with
‘ reference to their pastoral charge.

‘ 4. To the end that the deans and chapters may be
‘ the better fitted to afford counsel and assistance to the
‘ bishops, both in ordination and the other offices men-
‘ tioned

government, was of no long continuance.

‘ tioned before ; we will take care that those preferments be given to the most learned and pious presbyters of the diocese ; and moreover, that an equal number (to those of the chapter) of the most learned, pious, and discreet presbyters of the same diocese, annually chosen by the major vote of all the presbyters of that diocese present at such elections, shall be always advising and assisting, together with those of the chapter, in all ordinations, and in every part of jurisdiction which appertains to the censures of the church, and at all other solemn and important actions.

‘ 5. We will take care that confirmation be rightly and solemnly performed, by the information, and with the consent, of the minister of the place, who shall admit none to the Lords Supper till they have made a credible profession of their faith, and promised obedience to the will of God, according as it is expressed in the considerations of the Rubrick before the Catechism.

‘ 6. No bishop shall exercise any arbitrary power ; or do or impose any thing upon the clergy or the people, but what is according to the known law of the land.

‘ 7. We will appoint an equal number of learned divines, of both persuasions, to review the Liturgy, and to make such alterations as shall be thought most necessary, and some additional forms (in the scripture phrase as near as may be) suited unto the nature of the several parts of worship ; and that it may be left to the ministers choice to use one or other at his discretion.

‘ 8. Con-

ance. For the convention parliament being

‘ 8. Concerning ceremonies — We shall leave all
 ‘ decisions and determinations of that kind, if they shall
 ‘ be thought necessary for a perfect and entire unity
 ‘ and uniformity throughout the nation, to the advice
 ‘ of a national synod, which shall be duly called, after
 ‘ a little time, and a mutual conversation between per-
 ‘ sons of different persuasions, hath mollified those dis-
 ‘ tempers, abated those sharpnesses, and extinguished
 ‘ those jealousies, which make men unfit for those con-
 ‘ sultations. And, upon such advice, we shall use our
 ‘ best endeavours, that such laws may be established,
 ‘ as may best provide for the peace of the church and
 ‘ state. Provided, that none shall be denied the sacra-
 ‘ ment of the Lords Supper, though they do not use
 ‘ the gesture of kneeling in the act of receiving. —
 ‘ In the mean time, the Cross in Baptism, bowing at
 ‘ the name of Jesus, the use of the surplice (except in
 ‘ the royal chapel, cathedral or collegiate churches, or
 ‘ colleges in the universities), canonical subscriptions,
 ‘ and the oath of canonical obedience, were left indis-
 ‘ ferent, and none were to be compelled to use them,
 ‘ or suffer for not doing it (n).’

(n) Ken-
 net's Regis-
 ter, p. 289.

Thus were the clergy flattered and cajoled by the
 hopes of sharing in the lucrative posts of the church,
 and, at the same time retaining their principles!
 Thus were the people flattered, that a spirit of mode-
 ration, in ecclesiastical matters, would indeed take place,
 and

ing dissolved, and another of different
principles

and they themselves be left at liberty to follow their own judgments !

But moderation was the talk at this time ; as we may judge by the following passage, in a sermon of Dr. *Sheldon's*, Bishop of *London*, preached before the king, *June 28, 1660.* — ‘ That is the best and most Christian ‘ memory,’ says he, ‘ that, as *Cæsar's*, forgets nothing ‘ but injuries. Let us all seriously and sadly look back, ‘ consider and bemoan one another, for what we have ‘ mutually done and suffered from each other. Let us all ‘ be sorry, and all mend ; perfectly forgiving what is ‘ past, and returning to as great kindness as ever : that ‘ so, by all good and mutual offices, we may make ‘ amends for our former animosities. Shall God, so ‘ great, so glorious, after so high and many provocations ‘ condescend to be at peace with us ; and shall we, poor ‘ worms, be at enmity among ourselves for *trifles*, to the ‘ hazard of the comforts of this life, and the hopes of a ‘ better ? Shall we retain the memory of former un- ‘ kindness, and make a public act of oblivion, which ‘ we expect, a public lie, without either fear of God or ‘ shame of the world ? Shall we change one war into ‘ another, the open into a secret one, hostility into ‘ treachery, and, by pretending peace, only smooth the ‘ way to supplantation ? This is the most unmanly ‘ thing in the world.’ — But to proceed. — This declaration was so highly acceptable to the house of commons, that it was ‘ *Resolved, nem. con. Nov. 6,* ‘ 1660, That the humble and hearty acknowledgments ‘ and

principles chosen, his majesty began to be seen in quite another light.

‘and thanks of this house be presented to his majesty,
 ‘by the whole house, for his majesty’s gracious care
 ‘and indulgence expressed to his people, in his late gra-
 (o) Journal. ‘cious declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs (o).’
 ‘And it, at the same time, was referred to a com-
 ‘mittee, to bring in a bill to make the same effectual.’
 But this, being quite opposite to the real intentions of
 the court, came to nothing (p).

(p) See
 Clarendon’s
 Continua-
 tion, vol. ii.
 p. 143.

End of Vol. I.



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